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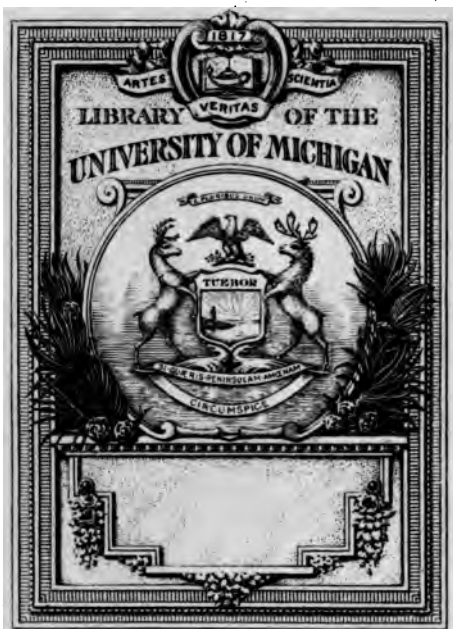
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THE INFLUENCE OF NEWSPAPER PRESENTATIONS UPON THE GROWTH OF CRIME AND OTHER ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY)

BY
FRANCES FENTON

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

- (1) STATEMENT OF PROBLEM; (2) EXPLANATION OF STAND-POINT; (3) PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS

I. The present study is an attempt to investigate the question, How and to what extent do newspaper presentations of crime and other anti-social activities influence the growth of crime and other types of anti-social activity? That is, do people get the idea of, or the impulse to, committing criminal and other anti-social acts from the reading of such acts or similar acts in the newspapers? It is not necessary at this point to define criminal acts any further than to say that, although they vary somewhat in different states and at different times, penal codes adequately define them as "an act or omission to act forbidden by law and punishable upon conviction." The expression, "other anti-social acts" refers to activities not technically criminal, but perhaps immoral in character, and detrimental to group life, which have not yet, and may never, become incorporated in penal codes.

It is not possible, of course, to make a catalogue of these acts here. The following definitions of the term *anti-social* will make its meaning, as here used, clearer. *The Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia*, quoting Giddings,¹ defines *anti-social* as, "Specifically in sociology, pertaining to a class of persons devoid of normal social instincts and showing criminal tendencies," and also, *anti-sociality* as "A quality, act, or habit of an individual, class, or group which is antagonistic to social feeling, habit, or interest. Extreme anti-sociality is criminality."² In a later chapter the relations as above suggested

¹ *Principles of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1896), 72.

² The definition of *anti-sociality* quoted by the dictionary is taken from the *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, XIII, 586. It is a serious defect in Bliss's *Encyclopaedia of Social Reform* that it contains no definition of *anti-social* or *anti-sociality*.

of anti-social to technically criminal acts will be discussed, and what is meant by "news of crime and other anti-social activities" will be worked out in detail.

The causal relationship implied in the question proposed above, "Do people get the idea of, or the impulse to, committing criminal and other anti-social acts from the reading of such acts or similar acts in the newspapers?" is intended to include in general all the influences of newspapers upon anti-social activity, both conscious and unconscious on the part of the person so influenced, and more specifically those influences coming from the general-news section, to a consideration of which this study is mainly limited.³ That is, it includes (1) cases of so-called pure suggestion in which the person affected is unaware, in part or wholly, of the part the newspaper account has had in influencing his activity; (2) cases in which the person consciously models his act upon a similar act related or described in the newspaper; and (3) cases in which newspaper accounts have had an influence in the gradual building-up of standards, ideals, images, which are partial, even if only remote, causes of anti-social activity.

The aspect of the newspaper question here dealt with has been distinctly limited to the problem as above stated, and to the attempt to get actual evidence for or against the assumption made so generally today, that the newspaper has an influence, through suggestion, upon the growth of crime and other anti-social activity. Many other phases of newspaper influence as a social factor of immense importance need scientific investigation. But in this particular study no attempt is made to deal with them, nor is any attempt here made to discover what is the chief difficulty with the newspaper, nor the causes of the difficulty or difficulties.

Various aspects of the newspaper problem have been receiving a large share of attention recently in the magazines. There is a widespread conviction that something is wrong with the newspaper, but a great variety of opinion as to what the core of the trouble is. The newspaper is charged with being "com-

³ Cf. chap. iv.

mercial," "sensational," "dishonest," "trivial," "impertinent," "vulgar," "suggestive," etc. Theodore Roosevelt (quoted by J. E. Rogers in *The American Newspaper*, Pref., p. ix) has said that newspapers "habitually and continually and as a matter of business practice every form of mendacity" known to man, from the suppression of the truth and the suggestion of the false to the lie direct." Some writers bring all of these indictments mentioned above against the newspaper, while others limit their charges against it to some one of them, such as that it does not give the news, that it is commercially dishonest, etc.⁴

Professor Ross has recently written:

Most of the criticism launched at our daily newspapers hits the wrong party. Granted they sensationalize vice and crime, "play up" trivialities, exploit the private affairs of prominent people, embroider facts, and offend good taste with screech, blare, and color. But all this may be only the means of meeting the demand of "giving the public what it wants." The newspaper cannot be expected to remain dignified and serious now that it caters to the common millions, instead of, as formerly, to the professional and business classes. To interest errand-boy and factory girl and raw immigrant, it had to become spicy, amusing, emotional, and chromatic. For these, blame then, the American people.

There is *just one* [italics here are mine] deadly, damning count against the daily newspaper as it is coming to be, namely, *It does not give the news*. For all its pretensions, many a daily newspaper is not "giving the public what it wants." As usual, no one is to blame.⁵

In making this statement, the author of *Social Control* takes a vulnerable position, both sociologically and factually. On the one hand, he falls into the rather common and uncritical popular error of stating that the character of the newspaper of today is the result of a response to popular demand and at the same time contradicts himself by declaring that the one essential criticism of the newspaper is that it does not give the news which the public demands. It is mere conjecture to pick out certain characteristics of newspapers and to assert that they are what the public wants. The public buys the paper as it is. It is no more possible to show that the public does not

⁴ Cf. John A. Macy, "Our Chromatic Journalism," *Bookman*, XXIV, 127.

⁵ "The Suppression of Important News," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1910, p. 303.

want absence of news than to show that it does want sensationalism. Speculation as to what the public wants does not offer a good social criterion of what to give the public.⁶

The suggestive power of the newspaper through its accounts of anti-social activities, through its comic supplements, through its possible influence on children, on the weak and unstable, on women, etc., has been emphasized by a number of writers.⁷ The psychology of suggestion has been mentioned in this connection and explained in a popular way.⁸ Also on this assumption, various practical steps have been taken to protect certain classes of people mentioned above from the effects of newspaper suggestion to anti-social activity. An example of this is to be found in the following statement from a letter written by Mr. F. G. Pettigrove, President Massachusetts Prison Commission, that "no daily papers are given to prisoners in the state prison or reformatories" of Massachusetts, and also "it is the general policy of penal institutions in America not to admit a daily newspaper."

Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, in an article entitled "Papers and Magazines in Prisons and Reformatories," says that at first no newspapers were allowed in prisons.

In old times this was considered a deserved part of his [the prisoner's] punishment. Afterward religious reading was allowed in prisons. Still later some prisons permitted the ordinary newspapers to come within the walls, though the better-managed institutions limited them to the county papers. The sensational yellow journals with their exaggerated delineations of crime, their atrocious stories appealing to scandal-mongers, are not allowed in any well-conducted prison. By their harmful influence they

⁶ See "Is an Honest and Sane Newspaper Press Possible?" by an Independent Journalist, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, November, 1909, p. 321; and "What the Public Wants," *The Dial*, XLVII, 500.

⁷ "Crime against American Children—Comic Supplement of Sunday Paper," *Ladies Home Journal*, January, 1909, XXVI, 5; "Are Newspapers Weakening Our National Fibre?" *Current Literature*, XLI, 517; "Newspaper Responsibility for Lawlessness," *Nation*, LXXVII, 151; "Newspapers' Sensations and Suggestions," *Independent*, LXVII, 449-51.

⁸ S. W. Pennypacker, "Sensational Journalism and the Remedy," *North American Review*, CX, 590.

help to fill the prisons, but the abnormal taste for such reading is never gratified while men are behind the bars.*

She says also, that stories of crime are not included in the papers printed in these institutions.

The present problem is a phase of the general problem of the control of stimuli to activity for the purpose of diminishing crime. It is scarcely necessary to point out the importance of this problem. However, a few general statements will indicate *how* important it is, as well as emphasize its connection with the present study.

We know very little as yet about the way in which habits grow up in the individual. Orthodox psychology, while it has given us many conclusions which are of value for social practice, has centered its attention almost exclusively on conscious processes in the individual and, with the exception of the studies of certain French and American writers¹⁰ who have definitely treated suggestion and hypnotism, but who in only a few cases may be classed as orthodox psychologists, has dealt very slightly with the unconscious and only slightly conscious activities which form so large a part of our conduct.¹¹ Any valid control of conduct, individual or social, must be based on a knowledge of this unconscious source of our stimuli to activity, as well as on a knowledge of conscious processes.

Little as we know in detail of the way in which habits are unconsciously acquired or grow up in the individual (because we know so little of what the individual starts out in life with), we do know the general fact that habits are unconsciously as well as consciously acquired, and that a part, at any

* *Memorial Volume No. 2*, Russell Sage Foundation, Charities Pub. Committee, 1910, p. 227.

¹⁰ Notably Binet, Janet, Ribot, LeBon and Sidis, Ross, James, Morton Prince.

¹¹ Cf. William McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Methuen & Co., 1908), 3, 15; also *Physiological Psychology* (J. M. Dent & Co., 1905), 1, 2. For statements as to the province of psychology bearing out the above assertion, see James, *Psychology* (Henry Holt, 1889), 1; Wundt, *Outlines of Psych.* (tr. Judd 2d revis. Eng. ed., Wilhelm Engleman, 1902), 3, 23; Titchener, *Outlines of Psych.* (Macmillan, 1905, 3d revis. ed.), 6; Stout, *Manual of Psych.* (Hinds & Noble, 1889), 4, 5; Thorndike, *Elements of Psych.* (A. G. Seiler, 1907, 2d ed.), 1; H. Höfding, *Outlines of Psych.* (tr. Lowndes, Macmillan, 1893), 1; Angell, *Psychology* (Henry Holt & Co., 1908, 4th ed.), 1.

rate, of the material out of which they grow are the social stimuli with which individuals come in contact—other people's activities, the drama, literature, art, newspapers, etc. We have enough evidence, certainly, to be sure that social control, the control of conduct, is in large part the control of unperceived stimuli to conduct, especially early in the lives of individuals. We are just beginning to evaluate our education, our drama, our novels, and our other forms of art and social stimuli on an objectively social basis and thus on a functional basis. The really preventive and constructive work of the juvenile court and of juvenile protective associations, as well as that of other ameliorative and preventive organizations, such as the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, is really based on this principle, that of pushing preventive measures as far back in the environment as possible, and thus of controlling the conscious and unconscious formation of habits.

In this process of evaluation, the newspaper as a social factor of immense importance must be included. For the reason, then, that the newspaper is far-reaching in its influence,¹² and that it repeats and includes stimuli from other sources as well, from the drama, the novel, etc., and because of the general conviction that newspapers do incite to anti-social activity, this study has been undertaken.

2. The general standpoint from which the investigation is made is that of a study of both conscious and unconscious suggestion and the effect of such suggestion from a constructively social point of view.¹³ It is necessary here merely to state the fact which has been pointed out above, that much of our conduct is of an unconscious and but dimly conscious sort, as compared with fully conscious and reasoned activity; that it is stimulated by a great variety of suggestions, over which

¹² The number of daily newspapers in the United States reported by Ayer and Sons' *Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1910, is 2,467. On the basis of figures for 1905, the *Bulletin of the Bureau of the Census*, U.S. Depart. of Commerce and Labor, Table 76, gives the average circulation per issue as 21,079,130. This would allow an average of one paper for every four inhabitants or one paper for every family.

¹³ Cf. p. 1. In chap. iii this general standpoint will be discussed in detail as a basis for the whole treatment.

we have, as yet, very little control. The process of stimulus and response between newspaper and human activity^o, which goes on sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, is the subject of study here.

3. The definitions of anti-social matter¹⁴ which have been adopted in this study are functional definitions from a social, rather than from a juridical or conventional, standpoint, that is, definitions based upon the objective results of news rather than upon intent. This is the only valid or exact criterion that can be made use of, because, in the first place, the intent of a piece of news cannot be determined with any exactness, and in the second place, no matter what the intent, the fact of social importance is the result of the news, the way it is taken or the effect it has. There is no necessary correspondence between the intent and the result. A bad intent usually has a bad effect, but a good intent (especially if accompanied by ignorance of actual conditions) may also have a bad effect. The effect is both the socially important and the calculable element, and has therefore been adopted as the basis of the definitions here used.

The use of this basis for the definition of anti-social matter though new in connection with the newspaper question, is not so new in other connections. It has legal precedent back of it, as well as decisions handed down by the New York and English Courts. The Report of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (1895) contains the following:

The common law of England and America for more than a century and a half has been that "what tends to corrupt society is indictable" (p. 20).

The Penal Code of the State of New York, by the use of six adjectives, in most positive language, declares that "obscene, lewd, lascivious, indecent, filthy, and disgusting books, pictures, pamphlets, papers, etc., shall not be sold, lent, or given away, nor shall anyone have in possession for such purposes" (p. 20).

The Supreme Court, General Term, for this district (N.Y.) and the Court of Appeals in a case where nine photographs, which were conceded to have been copied from works of art, were sold and the seller convicted, has defined the law clearly. It said:

"The statute makes the selling of an obscene and indecent picture a misdemeanor.

¹⁴ Cf. p. 1.

"There is no exception by reason of *any special intent* in making the sale.

"It would, we conceive, be no answer to an indictment under the statute for the sale of an obscene picture, that it was sold to a person not liable to be injured by it, or that it was a picture, in respect to execution, of distinguished merit.—*People vs. Miller*, 96 N.Y. 408" (p. 21).

The Lord Chief Justice of England said, in connection with a book alleged by the defendant to be printed in the interests of Protestant religion, "I think the test of *obscenity* is this: Whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall" (p. 24).

Likewise, Parmelee, in his *Sociology and Anthropology in Relation to Criminal Procedure*,¹⁵ says in discussing a basis for the treatment of the criminal:

Thus gradually moral liberty will be replaced by *dangerousness to society* as a basis for penal responsibility (p. 101). . . . A study of various kinds of crimes reveals that premeditation and intention do not furnish a complete or universal criterion for crime (p. 104). . . . Moral responsibility should be abolished as a fundamental criterion of criminality and should be replaced by the dangerousness of the criminal to society (p. 212).

In other chapters also he brings out the necessity for an objective, scientific basis for treatment of crime, as the only adequately social criterion possible.

A more detailed explanation of the definitions used will be given in chap. iv. Chap ii will be devoted to a discussion of previous treatments of the problem.

¹⁵ Macmillan, 1908.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM OF PREVIOUS TREATMENTS

The problems of contemporary journalism have so far been treated chiefly in scattered articles in newspapers and magazines. The few books on the subject, such as E. L. Shuman's *Practical Journalism*,¹ and J. L. Given's *Making a Newspaper*,² are written from the point of view of newspaper men, and in the main discuss problems from their standpoint rather than from that of the public. They take the current journalistic ideals and aims for granted. In fact they are not critical and constructive. They are, however, significant as showing the aims and methods connected with newspapers and the close relation between these aims and methods and the results in the newspapers themselves. They may be ignored here, however, as not bearing at all directly on the problem of this study. In the following discussion the most important articles which are related in any way to the problem as stated in chap. i will be discussed and criticized. They may be classified under the following heads:

1. Those treatments dealing directly or indirectly with the problem of suggestion in newspapers.

The problem of the effect of suggestion through newspapers has either been neglected or, where recognized, has not been analyzed, so that there are no estimates either of the way in which suggestion from the newspaper operates psychologically, or of its extent.

2. Those treatments in which an analytical study of the papers themselves has been made.

In the first class of treatments the effect of suggestion is merely treated as conjectural, or at least no direct evidence of the effect is presented. The suggestive effect of newspapers is

¹ D. Appleton & Co., 1909.

² Henry Holt & Co., 1907.

inferred by analogy with the working of suggestion and imitation in connection with other stimuli, or newspaper accounts of such a character as to be suggestive are cited and the effect inferred.³

Professor W. I. Thomas, in "The Psychology of Yellow Journalism,"⁴ a discussion of the question, Why does yellow journalism prosper? says:

The yellow journal . . . is a positive agent for vice and crime. The condition of morality, as well as of mental life, in a community depends on the prevailing copies of the newspaper. A people is profoundly influenced by whatever is persistently brought to its attention. A good illustration of this is the fact that an article of commerce—a food, a luxury, a medicine, or a stimulant—can always be sold in immense quantities if it can be persistently and largely advertised. In the same way, advertising crime, vice, and vulgarity on a scale unheard of before in the annals of history has the same effect—it increases crime, vice, and vulgarity enormously.

This represents the most direct and psychological statement of the matter that has yet been made. The articles of this first class are themselves simply evidence of the widespread belief that newspapers have an influence in increasing crime, which belief has in all probability at its foundation, in part, a knowledge of actual cases of this influence.

The second class of studies is of a different sort. J. G. Speed⁵ has made a comparative study of the Sunday issues of four New York papers for dates in 1881 and 1893, to show changes in the amount of space devoted to different sorts of news. His results were presented in a table entitled "Columns of Reading Matter in New York Newspapers, April 17, 1881, and April 16, 1893," which is as follows:

³ "Lessons in Crime Fifty Cents per Month," *Outlook*, February, 1908, p. 276; "Are Newspapers Weakening Our National Fibre?" *Current Literature*, XLI, 517; "Newspaper Responsibility for Lawlessness," *Nation*, LXXVII, 131; "Newspapers' Sensations and Suggestions," *Independent*, LXII, 449; "Sensational Journalism and the Remedy," *loc. cit.*; "Criminal Journalism," *Indep.*, LXV, 1256.

⁴ *American Magazine*, March, 1908, p. 491.

⁵ "Do Newspapers Now Give the News?" *Forum*, XV, 705.

Subjects	Tribune 1881	Tribune 1893	World 1881	World 1893	Times 1881	Times 1893	Sun 1881	Sun 1893
Editorial.....	5.00	5.00	4.75	4.00	6.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Religious.....	2.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.50	1.00
Scientific.....	1.00	0.75	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.50
Political.....	3.00	3.75	0.00	10.50	1.00	4.00	1.00	3.50
Literary.....	15.00	5.00	1.00	2.00	18.00	12.00	5.75	6.50
Gossip.....	1.00	23.00	1.00	63.00	0.50	16.75	2.00	13.00
Scandals.....	0.00	1.50	0.00	1.50	1.00	2.50	0.00	2.00
Sporting.....	1.00	6.50	2.50	16.50	3.00	10.50	0.50	17.50
Fiction.....	0.00	7.00	1.50	6.50	1.00	1.50	0.00	11.50
Historical.....	2.50	2.50	2.75	4.00	2.50	1.50	4.25	14.00
Music and drama...	2.50	4.00	1.50	11.00	4.00	7.00	0.00	3.50
Crimes and criminals	0.00	0.50	0.00	6.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
Art.....	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	0.00	0.25	1.25

For the problem here being considered the most interesting figures in his table are those showing the change in the number of columns of matter dealing with *crime and criminals* and *scandals* from 1881 to 1893. In every paper, it will be noted, the amount of *scandals* had increased, and in all except the *Sun* the amount of material on *crimes and criminals* had increased. Moreover, Mr. Speed remarks, referring to the papers of 1893,⁶ "A great many of these things mentioned as mere gossip and spoken of as scandalous would be totally unfit to reproduce." Thus the figures should be larger to represent a complete estimate of news of *scandal* and *crime and criminals*. A difficulty, however, with Mr. Speed's tables for comparative purposes is that he nowhere defines matter pertaining to *scandals* and to *crimes and criminals*. It is not clear, therefore, what news he includes in and excludes from these categories. Nor does he take as the basis of his classification the objective effect of newspaper matter, but the form in which it appears. Consequently it is possible that matter dealing with scandal, crime and criminals in the form of pictures, editorials, book-reviews, etc., does not appear as *scandal* and *crimes and criminals* in his tables. Any adequate study of the effect of the newspaper must consider all forms of newspaper matter. The conclusion in the article is,

There is a conventional phrase that is more or less believed in, "A newspaper is the history of the world for a day." . . . If the New York

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 708.

newspapers ever recorded history accurately and with any appreciation of the significance of the events occurring, they do it less now than heretofore, for now everything is so covered with the millinery of sensationalism that none but the wisest can detect the truth beneath.⁷

The writer's interest, it is clear, is in the truth and falsity of the news rather than in its effect upon the growth of crime and other anti-social activity.

Delos F. Wilcox, in an article on *The American Newspaper*,⁸ has made a tabulated and numerical estimate of the matter in 240 newspapers. Of these 240 papers, 136 were in English, 11 were foreign, 147 were analyzed in detail for the same day in June, 1898, and September, 1898, and a few in other months. A full week's issues in September, 1898 and 1899, of the *New York Times* and of the *Chicago Record* were analyzed.

He classified newspaper matter as follows:

1. News: (a) War News, (b) General News: (1) Foreign, (2) Political, (3) Crime and Vice, (4) Miscellaneous; (c) Special: (1) Business, (2) Sporting, (3) Society.
2. Illustrations.
3. Literature.
4. Opinion: (a) Editorials, (b) Letters and Exchange.
5. Advertisements (a) Want, (b) Retail, (c) Medical, (d) Political and Legal, (e) Miscellaneous, (f) Self.

He finds that "news⁹ of crime and vice, on account of which the paper is so often denounced, fills on an average only 3.1 per cent of the whole space," though the percentage ranges from 18.8 to 0 in New York City.¹⁰ He defines crime and vice as follows: "News of crime and vice includes accounts of the commission of crimes and of the trial and punishment of criminals, news of suicides, brawls, drunkenness, prostitution, divorce proceedings, etc."¹¹ It is clear that Professor Wilcox' criterion of news of crime and vice is not that of the objective effect of news, but of the form and content of news.¹² Matter vicious

⁷ *Ibid.*, 711.

⁸ *Annals Amer. Acad. Polit. and Soc. Sci.*, XVI (July, 1900), 56.

⁹ The word "news" is used here instead of the more inclusive terms "matter" or "material" because it is the term employed by the writer under discussion and designates merely "news proper," which he is discussing.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 67.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹² "Under 'news' should be included every item that is a first-hand report of current events."—*Ibid.*, 61.

and criminal in effect appearing in literary, editorial, or illustrative form is excluded by him from this category. In conclusion, Wilcox says, "Yet the great mass of the information we get in reading the papers affects our action only vaguely and remotely if at all."¹³ Evidently Wilcox' estimate of the effect of the newspaper is conjectural, based, apparently, upon the subjective results in his own and similar cases and not upon a psychological and sufficiently extensive objective study of suggestion in connection with newspapers. His estimate of 3.1 per cent as the average of news of crime and vice¹⁴ for the entire country is not significant in this connection for two reasons: first, because the terms "crime" and "vice" as he uses them are not sufficiently inclusive of the different forms of reading-matter in which they may occur to be socially valuable in estimating newspaper influence; and second, because an average which neglects the matter of circulation is an insufficient indication of a characteristic fact about American newspapers as a whole. The important fact is not that the average percentage of news of crime and vice in New York City, for example, is 4.9,¹⁵ but that it ranges from 18.8 per cent to 0, and that it is highest the greater the circulation of the paper.¹⁶

The Sunday edition of the *Chicago Tribune*, July 25, 1909, contained comparative statistics gathered by Arthur T. Street as to the amount of crime and other news in the American papers for 1908.¹⁷ He defines criminal news from the legal and conventional standpoint, counts by items rather than by inches, and concludes that all is well with the American newspaper, because the percentage of news of crime in it is (on

¹³ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁴ "Vice," as he uses the term, is an indefinite and inaccurate category.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 68.

¹⁶ *Cf.* chap. v.

¹⁷ "The Truth about the Newspapers. A Remarkable Summary, by Arthur T. Street, of American Publications, Proving that Crime and Sensationalism Occupy a Comparatively Small Space in the Volume of the Day's News."

his estimate) low.¹⁸ But we are not told either how many or what newspapers were studied, and the kind of news and crime considered is indefinitely described as "leading news" only. For scientific and constructive purposes, therefore, his tables and the conclusions from them are not useful.

J. E. Rogers has undertaken a popular study of contemporary journalism in this country.¹⁹ He states that 15,000 papers were studied, but not how they were studied, nor are we given exact results of the study, but merely generalizations from the results. We are given no definition of crime and vice, terms which he uses, and thus we do not know what matter is included under this head. We infer that he is considering crime and vice from the juridical and conventional rather than from the social viewpoint. The figures which he uses to show relative amounts of news of crime and vice and other news are not the results of his own investigation, but are quoted from Wilcox.²⁰

Mr. Rogers and a number of others emphasize the responsibility of the American public for American newspapers. This emphasis is a good one for certain purposes. That is, people could do more than they do to express their disapproval of bad newspapers by not buying that kind. There are, however, other facts in the case. (1) The public is unorganized and therefore is not in a situation to control the newspaper as the newspaper can control it—any more than it has found it easy, or even possible at first, to control large business corporations. (2) More-

¹⁸ His main table follows

Total crimes and scandals	1,343
Educational and scientific	397
Medical and surgical	268
Religious	390
States and cities	695
Panics, banks, business	442
Railroads	1,140
Foreign news	2,280
President of United States	550
Prominent men	527
Labor	659
Total	7,348

¹⁹ *The American Newspaper* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1910).

²⁰ Wilcox, *op. cit.*

over, the public has protested and is protesting all of the time. Rogers' book is one protest, and many articles, some of which have been cited, besides letters, libel suits, and individual protests that never come to light, are others. (3) But it is not merely a question of what the public will buy if sufficiently stimulated, although this is important. The effect on the public of what the newspaper sells them is the important problem.²¹ That is, we cannot discuss the taste, the morals, the ideals of the public without including in our discussion the factors that co-operate in fixing and changing taste, morals, and ideals. The old dilemma as to which comes first, demand or supply, the newspaper or people's demand for the newspaper, has given place to a point of view in which we recognize the interaction of demand on supply and of supply on demand. The control by the consumer of the quality of the supply of any commodity is difficult. In the case of pure food, shoes and hats, and of any article in the region of fashion, the consumer finds it exceedingly difficult to exercise control over supply. Consumers are unorganized and are themselves influenced by advertising. Even when organized, as in the case of the Consumers' League, they accomplish very little relatively. What control of supply has been gained, has been obtained by means of definite legislation.²² Mr. Rogers, and others, moreover, ignore the relative circulation of yellow, conservative, and sensational newspapers, in estimating the effect of newspapers. He admits the bad effect of the yellow paper, but since he considers the sensational newspaper the American type, he ignores the importance of the enormous circulation of the yellow journal as affecting American life.²³

²¹ For a good discussion of this question of what the public wants, see *The Dial*, *op. cit.*, 500.

²² Pure food laws, laws against the sale of dangerous drugs, etc., are examples.

²³ Rogers quotes from Wilcox to show the increase in the percentage of space occupied by news of crime and vice with increase of circulation, showing that in papers of 40,000 circulation and more this percentage is 4.2, while in papers of 7,500 to 20,000 circulation it is only 3.6. (Rogers, *op. cit.*, 50.) He further says, "Quantitatively, an examination of yellow and conservative papers shows that the former class of papers devote 20 per cent of their space to reports of crime and vice, while the ordinary conservative newspaper gives but 5 per cent" (p. 54).

In a recent article on the newspaper in the *Independent*,²⁴ the purpose is stated to be to determine "about what percentage of the news items are to be approved from an educational point of view." It adds, "This study . . . embraces the daily issues for a period of three months of the current year" (1909-10).²⁵ Having eliminated the editorial page and advertisements from his estimate, Mr. Mathews counts the number of items under 177 headings. Items occupying less than an inch of space were not included, nor such as regularly appear under *Died*, *Matrimonial*, *Weather*, etc. The headings were then grouped under:

Demoralizing, with 2,289 items, or 22.8 per cent
 Unwholesome, with 1,684 items, or 16.8 per cent
 Trivial, with 2,124 items, or 21.2 per cent
 Worth while, with 3,932 items, or 39.2 per cent

Demoralizing and unwholesome news thus represented 39.6 per cent of the items in a New York daily of wide circulation and described as "acknowledged to be one of the best."²⁶ But the numerical results obtained by the several studies already given are not comparable because of the varying bases used in estimating the news of crime. Mr. Mathews' purpose, as indicated above, represents a distinct advance over previous treatments of this question, in that his standpoint has shifted to an objective or educational one. His categories for classifying newspaper matter, however, are far too indefinite and subjective to be strictly dependable: the line between demoralizing and unwholesome is a shifting, not even an approximately stationary, one.

A recent article in the *Outlook*²⁷ has the most explicit definition of one type of anti-social news that has yet appeared, with the exception possibly of Wilcox'.²⁸ It gives examples and explains why the news is anti-social. Part of the introduction and typical cases are here given from the article:

Attention is asked to the following extracts, clipped during one month from one newspaper—one of the best in its state, claiming to be the best

²⁴ Byron C. Mathews, "A Study of a New York Daily," *Independent*, January 13, 1910, p. 82.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁷ February 2, 1907, p. 276.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*

in six states—and comprising only those items of news that gave specific directions for committing the crimes reported. There was ten times as much educative material for would-be lawbreakers, that anyone not feeble-minded or insane would interpret by the very act of understanding what was done or attempted; but in these several cases the lesson in crime was patiently and lovingly unfolded and explained, so that anyone so caring to do could add it to his or her repertory.

STRANGER'S VISIT PROVES COSTLY

[September 18]

This begins: "Stephen A. B.—, of — Broadway, has told the police of a new dodge, by which he was relieved of fifty dollars late yesterday afternoon." Here follow minute directions for "relieving" unsuspecting citizens of their spare cash.

STORY OF A FREE RIDE

[September 16]

This is a short story, or "storiette," in the Sunday edition. It is given a very honorable place, and evidently is offered in good faith as an amusing and interesting account of an exploit that would reflect honor on and secure instant sympathy for the doer thereof. An irresponsible scoundrel of the cheerful, good-natured sort thinks up a scheme that beats the railways out of a trans-continental fare, and it is so ingenious, admits of so many possible adaptations, that the whole fraternity of beats and bounders must be extremely grateful for having it explained. It is subtly done; so subtly that even the trained reader will unconsciously take sides with "Billy," and feel rather glad that he got to the Pacific coast, on nothing, successfully, until he harks back to the principles that Mother used to insist upon as the only possible moral baggage for a gentleman. The ninety and nine will naturally go by the instinctive feeling so recklessly aroused and subtly appealed to, and file the scheme away for possible usefulness.

POLICE ROUND UP IDLE PERSONS; HIT UPON NEW TRICK

PATROLMAN TELLS HOW THE UNWARY ARE ROBBED OF MONEY AND WATCHES BY SLY PICKPOCKET

[September 19]

We quote: "'Tis a new dodge the rounders have up their sleeve,' said one of the patrolmen concerned in the general ingathering. 'It's this way the trick is turned.'" Step by step, with the painstaking accuracy of a Fagan, the great newspaper proceeds to explain the criminal problem, set forth in letters an inch tall and very black at the head of the article, so that a little child could perfectly understand both the principle worked on and the method of doing the work.

ALLEGED CARD SHARP CAUGHT IN PITTSBURG

[September 19]

✓ "Member of Leading Political Club Detected with—" The cheating device is clearly indicated in the heading, which is that for specially important news, about three inches of column space; following which is a third of a column of text illustrating and driving the lesson home.

✓ This article, however, does not mention the other forms in which these "lessons in crime" appear in the newspaper—such as vivid and detailed pictures of bank robberies, besides detailed word accounts, literature, stories in the literary section of suicide, murder, robbery, sexual misconduct, etc., favorable reviews of books dealing with similar facts, especially with sexual license and immorality.

SUMMARY

The analyses of newspapers included in the second class of treatments are all interesting and, in different degrees, significant. In so far as they show what is in the papers, and the relative space devoted to news of crime and other anti-social activities, or the relative frequency of mention of crime and other anti-social activity as compared with other types of news, they are significant, even on the subjective basis used for making these comparisons. There are, however, certain difficulties in their general standpoint and method which must be pointed out, if we wish to make an estimate of their social utility. These may be summed up as follows.

1. The general standpoint of some of these treatments is not socially constructive, as in the cases of Rogers and Street. That is, either a brief is held for the newspaper or its social effect is ignored or merely mentioned in passing. The importance of suggestion and its entire psychology are not considered.

2. An exclusively juridical definition of criminal and anti-social matter rather than a social one is used, as for example, by Rogers and Street. And thus, a basis for including all anti-social items such as illustrations, book reviews, literary matter, etc., is lacking, although these are just as real sources of anti-social suggestion as what is called "news proper."

For example, book reviews may be extremely anti-social in effect, in giving apparent sanction to certain sorts of immoral conduct therein depicted or suggested, by calling the book "a strong book," or one "taking up in masterly fashion one of the most important problems of our day," or by detailing just enough of the immoral conduct in the book to arouse curiosity and get people to read it.

3. No direct evidence of the effect of the newspaper is offered. The conclusions are based upon analyses of papers and upon opinions as to their effect, as in the studies of Rogers, Street, Wilcox, and Mathews. No matter if the percentage of news of crime and other anti-social acts in newspapers is found to be as low as 5 per cent or even 3 per cent, if it is certain that this percentage is the source of anti-social suggestion, then we can easily say that the percentage is too high. In a progressive society people cannot give their attention to this extent to destructive and non-progressive activities.²⁹

4. That the newspapers are what the public want and that the only improvement in them can come through improvement in public taste is a fallacy that appears in most of these studies, as in the case of Rogers and Street. This, however, is not the method on which we operate in other social matters.

5. An item rather than a uniform-unit basis of measurement is used by some writers for estimating news of crime and other anti-social activities in the papers. Although the number of "mentions" of a subject is significant as indicating the number of times the eye is caught by that subject, it is not an accurate indication of the relative space devoted to that subject as compared with other news. Much more *space* might be given to 1,343 items of criminal matter than to 7,348 items of social value.³⁰ Tabulation on the basis of a definite unit

²⁹ "But we forget that in occupying ourselves almost exclusively with the results of social abuses, we use up and exterminate little by little the power of that portion of the population which is still healthy, normal, and hardworking."—Translated from Auguste Forel, *La question sexuelle, exposée aux adultes cultivés* (Paris: G. Steinheil, 1906), 518.

³⁰ Cf. Speed, *loc cit.*

of measurement indicates the amount of space actually given to anti-social matters.

Consequently, there is need of a more complete scientific study of the influence of newspapers upon the growth of anti-social activity, an analysis of the psychology of this influence, the working-out of an objective social standard for determining what matter in newspapers has an anti-social effect and what has not, an estimate of the amount on this basis, and the gathering of actual cases in which the newspaper is known to have exerted an anti-social influence as direct evidence of this influence. The following chapters will deal with these problems in the order here mentioned.

CHAPTER III

THE PRINCIPLES OF SUGGESTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NEWSPAPER

The problem of this study is that of the general connection between the newspaper and crime and other anti-social activity. The emphasis in this chapter is upon an analysis of the activity as it goes on, rather than upon the types of sources, that is, sections of the newspaper, from which stimuli to that activity come. The standpoint in the most general sense is that of suggestion, if the latter be taken in its broadest meaning to cover all stimulus and response relations, such as are included in the definition of suggestion given in the *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*: "The coming into the mind from without of a presentation, idea, or any sort of intimation having meaning for consciousness which effects a lodgment and takes the place it would have if internally aroused by association."¹ Within this field there are all types and gradations of stimulus and response relations, from so-called pure suggestion, in which there is no perception by the actor of the relation between stimulus and response, up to so-called reasoned activity, in which there is such consciousness of this connection. We are accustomed to think chiefly of this latter type in connection with the newspaper and similar stimuli because we are used to thinking of activity as consciously caused, and because we can get direct introspective evidence of the connection from the

¹ The word "consciousness" as here used, if the writer is consistent, must connote merely mental processes as such, and not necessarily consciousness of, or attention to, the particular relation of stimulus and image. In other words, "entrance into consciousness" here means simply the process of setting off an activity. The word "consciousness" is, of course, an ambiguous term to all but psychologists. As a matter of fact, we have no adequate definition of consciousness. Nervous terms, terms of stimulus and response, are the nearest ones in which we can express it, and we call conscious acts those in which more than one stimulus is present, and in which therefore there is necessity for inhibition or selection of stimuli. In this discussion "consciousness" is not used in any metaphysical sense, but merely to denote "attention" or "inhibition."

actor, that is, the person involved can tell of the stimulus and connection in such cases. The other class of cases at the opposite pole from these we are not accustomed to connect with the newspaper, cases of so-called pure suggestion or unconscious suggestion, in which there is no perception of the relation between stimulus and response and regarding which, therefore, we can get no direct introspective evidence from the person concerned. Nevertheless, for reasons which will be set forth, these latter cases form a very important share of all cases of newspaper suggestion. It is unconscious suggestion, or suggestion as it is commonly understood, that constitutes a large number of the cases of newspaper influence on crime and other anti-social activity. As yet these cases are an unexplored portion of the field of suggestion and cannot be analyzed introspectively because they elude introspection by their very nature; and, finally, they enter into the other less purely suggested acts and even into reasoned acts as part content of those acts. It is necessary, therefore, to make an objective study of cases of unconscious newspaper suggestion. In no other way can we gain a control of it, and of the stimuli to it.

The only kind of activity stimulated by the newspaper that admits of introspective evidence is that in which there is some degree of conscious planning, and in which, therefore, the person remembers where he got his model or idea. Activity in which unconscious suggestion plays a large part cannot be checked up, except indirectly by the employment of objective methods of analysis, that is, for example, where a resemblance is noted between a newspaper account and the act by some third person, or where, as in cases of suicide, robbery, etc., a marked account of a similar act is found in the person's room or on his person. But all acts are mixtures, complexes of many activities, and suggested parts enter also even into those acts in which conscious planning is the predominant element.

In a later chapter cases of reasoned activities, which constitute direct introspective evidence of suggestion, will be analyzed in detail and it will be shown just how the act goes on. Here, the preliminary theoretical basis for that analysis will be laid by dealing in some detail with the psychology of this more narrowly suggested type of activity for which there is no direct introspective evidence, and which enters into the

reasoned type. Suggestion, in this narrower sense, will be defined here and its operation described and illustrated with especial reference to the newspaper.

The first question, then, is, What is unconscious suggestion? The orthodox textbooks on psychology, such as those of James, Angell, Judd, Titchener, Royce, and others, do not contain explicit definitions of suggestion. The facts of suggestion, when treated in them at all, are dealt with as part of the subject of hypnotism. Consequently these writers cannot be cited in this connection. Definitions of suggestion must be drawn from those who have actually treated this matter. Binet says of suggestion:

Suggestion when successful, consists of an idea impressed upon a person and reigning dominant in the consciousness² of that person; reason, critical power and will are impotent to restrain it. . . . For suggestion to develop itself accordingly, it is necessary that the subject's field of consciousness do not contain too many antagonistic ideas.³

The first part of this definition is too ideational. Ideas are not the only things that can be "impressed" upon a person. Images and bare impulsive tendencies as well may be thus impressed. Otherwise, however, the definition does point out the unitary character of activity in suggestion. Moll says,

The externally suggested idea of a movement, induces the movement; the idea of an object causes a corresponding sense-delusion. . . . Ideas aroused in us have an effect which sometimes shows itself as other concepts (ideas, sensations, etc.), and sometimes externally as movement; in many cases, perhaps in all, there is both an internal and an external effect. What effect appears, what idea, what feeling, what movement will be induced by the first concept, depends upon the individuality of the person, upon his imagery, upon his character, his habits, and upon the species of the concept.⁴

Moll is here considering suggestion chiefly in connection with hypnotism as a method of producing an effect. Nevertheless, this definition does point out the close relation between stimulus

² "Consciousness" is apparently here used broadly as in the first definition cited.

³ *On Double Consciousness* (Open Court Pub. Co., 1894), 70, 71.

⁴ *Hypnotism*, 63; (tr. Hopkirk) 4th enlarged ed. Scribner, 1909.

and response (idea and movement) and the external source of the stimulus.

In his *Psychotherapy*,⁵ Münsterberg makes the following statement, among others, regarding suggestion:

A suggestion is, we might say at first, an idea which has a power in our mind to suppress the opposite idea. A suggestion is an idea which in itself is not different from other ideas, but the way in which it takes possession of the mind reduces the chances of any opposite ideas; it inhibits them. Every suggestion is thus ultimately a suggestion of activity.⁶ By small steps, suggestion shades over into ordinary exchange of ideas, propositions, and impressions, just as attention shades over into a neutral perception.⁷

This definition also limits suggestion to an ideational process, but it brings out its quick going-over into activity, its inhibitory character with relation to other ideas, and the fact that the line between suggestion and what we call ordinary stimulus and response relations is not exact.

" 'Suggestion' is only another name for the power of ideas, so far as they prove efficacious over belief and conduct," says James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*.⁸

To take a more involved definition:

The question of suggestion becomes, then, that of the mechanism of attention in working three results: (1) the narrowing of consciousness⁹ upon the suggested idea, (2) the consequent narrowing of the motor impulses to simpler lines of discharge, and (3) the consequent inhibition of the discriminating and selective attitude which constitutes belief in reality.¹⁰

This definition also limits suggestion to an ideational process, and in so far it is too narrow, but it emphasizes the unitary character of the activity, as does the definition of Binet, and it makes explicit the part of inhibition in suggestion, that is, the absence of conflict of stimuli. Although the third point, as stated, simply means absence of inhibition, it serves to emphasize the uncritical attitude in suggestion.

⁵ Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909, p. 86.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁸ Longmans, Green & Co. (1902), p. 112.

⁹ Cf. note at beginning of the chapter.

¹⁰ J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (Macmillan, 1906), 3d ed., 104.

Boriş Sidis says, "By suggestion is meant the intrusion into the mind of an idea; met with more or less opposition by the persons; accepted uncritically at last; and realized unreflectively, almost automatically."¹¹ This definition is bound up with Sidis' theory of double consciousness, or disaggregation of consciousness (for which he has been much criticized), which comes out in the phrase, "met with more or less opposition." Otherwise, barring its limitation to "idea" this definition covers the facts of suggestion.

Cooley says of suggestion: "The word is here used to denote an influence that works in a comparatively mechanical and reflex way, without calling out that higher selective activity of mind implied in choice or will."¹² This definition implies the main facts of suggestion; its unconscious character, the absence of conscious selection and choice, that is, of attention, and consequently its quick going-over into action.

In short, for the purposes of this study, suggestion is the process by which ideas, images, impulsive tendencies, or any sort of stimulus, enter from without into the composition of the neural make-up or disposition and, at times more or less in the focus of consciousness, at other times not in the focus at all, are transformed into activity by the agency of a stimulus which bears an effective though unrecognized relation or similarity to the image or neural set, and in which there is in large part, or wholly, failure to anticipate the results of the suggested act. For example, when one reads an account of a murder he images it visually, or auditorially, or in whatever terms are characteristic of his type of imagery. These images and motor tendencies stay in his mind, that is, in his neural disposition, and later, when they are called up by some new stimulus, they may become cues, causes, of immediate activity, as appears from the following account of an act. Professor Woodworth says,

The complete determinant of a voluntary motor act—that which specifies exactly what it shall be—is nothing less than the total set of the nervous

¹¹ *The Psychology of Suggestion* (D. Appleton & Co., 1898), 15.

¹² *Human Nature and the Social Order* (Scribner, 1902), 14.

system at the moment. The set is determined partly by factors of long standing, instincts and habits, partly by the sensations of the moment, partly by recent perceptions of the situation and by other thoughts lately present in consciousness; at the moment, however, these factors, though they contribute essentially to the set of the system, are for the most part present in consciousness only as a background or "fringe," if at all, while the attention is occupied by the thought of some particular change to be effected in the situation. The thought may be clothed in sensorial images . . . but these are after all only clothes, and a naked thought can perfectly well perform its function of starting the motor machinery in action and determining the point and object of its application.¹³

The fact that the reading of the murder case, as referred to above, was the source of the initial imagery, or that there is a connection between the present stimulus and the image, is not recognized in this type of suggestion, and the activity follows unreflectively upon the calling-up of the image; while in reasoned activity this source is remembered and a high degree of consciousness of the relation between stimulus and image exists. This does not mean that the overt activity in the case of pure or unconscious suggestion is a totally unconscious activity, but only that the relation between stimulus and response is unperceived immediately by the actor. Very intense consciousness may arise in connection with carrying out the activity, that is, wherever anything problematical arises in the adjustment that is being made of means to ends. But consciousness is present only when there is some conflict of stimuli, and in the type of suggestion under discussion there is no such conflict of stimuli, only one stimulus being present as stimulus. This is what the "narrowing of consciousness [or attention] upon the suggested idea," referred to by Baldwin, means.

It is clear from the above account and from Woodworth's description of the act that the newspaper can function in suggestion in various ways, in all the ways, in fact, in which it can influence the nervous set. In any one act it may have entered into the constitution of the nervous set as "a factor of long standing," in the composition of a "habit"; it may constitute one or

¹³ "The Cause of Voluntary Movement," *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology* (Garman Memorial Volume; Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1906), 391, 392.

more of the "sensations of the moment," or complex of these sensations; it may be present as a "recent perception," or as a "thought lately present in consciousness." The newspaper as stimulus may be, therefore: (1) either the source of initial images or ideas that have now come to constitute either part of the fringe of a present act or the focus of a present act; or (2) it may be a present stimulus calling up images, ideas, already in the nervous set, as where a present newspaper account of a crime sets the person to committing that crime, or, when he has determined upon a crime, gives him his method. In the former of the two phases of newspaper influence the idea or motor tendency may lie dormant and not come into consciousness at all, or it may take the form of a fixed idea, in which case the person frequently even seeks stimuli which bear upon it.¹⁴

But acts of pure suggestion not only form a large number of the cases of suggestion, but, as was stated in the beginning of this chapter, enter into less purely suggested acts and into reasoned acts. The difference between a suggested act and a reasoned act, neurologically speaking, is the absence or presence of conflicting stimuli-processes. Every act, however, is a complex of many previous acts, and, as has been pointed out, involves, at any one moment, the total set of the nervous system of that moment. The neural set, as described by Woodworth, includes a complex of past and present neural experiences into which suggestion has entered more or less frequently.¹⁵

Suggestion, consequently, is a process that is continually going on in the form of responses to surrounding stimuli. "The

¹⁴ Well-known examples of this unconscious suggestion are to be found in epidemics of crime of various sorts, suicide epidemics, murders, highway and bank robberies, etc. See latter part of chap. vi.

¹⁵ "There are numbers of people in the community who feel the temptation to approach the brink of crime who need only a slight incentive to convert the impulse into action. The man who killed the Duke of Buckingham happened to be passing a hardware store and saw displayed in the window a huge knife with a keen edge. It was enough. He bought the knife and flayed the duke."—S. W. Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, 590.

The phrase "feel the temptation to approach the brink of crime" does not mean that people are conscious of such a feeling, but merely that in the presence of a stimulus to certain criminal acts they have an impulse to perform them.

fact is," to quote Cooley, "that the main current of our thought is made up of impulses absorbed without deliberate choice from the life about us or else arising from hereditary instinct or from habit."¹⁶ And this again is built up "without deliberate choice from the life about us."

The questions of social importance here are: Under what conditions is suggestion likely to occur? That is, (1) In what sorts of people is this process frequent and habitual; (2) What sorts of stimuli are apt to be suggestive and in what form or through what medium? That is to say, a psychological analysis of objective social conditions as stimuli and of the subjective individual to whom these are stimuli must be made.

Psychology has some evidence as to the kind of stimuli that are likely to set up associations. In general, the more concrete the stimulus the more likely it is to be remembered and to be responded to. More definitely still, frequency, vividness, recency, coexistence, are the objective conditions which have been found experimentally to be most conducive to suggestion.¹⁷ In a later chapter it will be pointed out in greater detail how these conditions operate in the daily newspaper, through its featuring, in the use of varieties of type, wording, position, coloring, illustration, etc.

We have now to consider what types of peoples, external factors, suggestions, can incite to anti-social acts. Given the objective conditions already mentioned, whether a person exposed to them gets a suggestion or not depends, in general, upon the type of person he is—whether his previously ingrained experience is of such a character as to leave him open to such stimuli.¹⁸ It will leave him open to anti-social stimuli if the rest of the stimulation in his experience has been of a similar character, or if he has had no strong counter-stimulation or training in evaluating stimuli. In other words, the objective and subjective conditions of suggestion resolve themselves, first into

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 30.

¹⁷ Boris Sidis, *op. cit.*, 28; also E. B. Titchener, *Experimental Psychology* (Students' Qualitative Manual; Macmillan, 1896), 201.

¹⁸ A. Moll, *op. cit.*, 68.

a question of how the attention can be attracted, how the eye or ear can be caught. And here, psychology tells us that novel stimuli, stimuli that appeal to organic appetites or native instincts, stimuli that appeal to special acquired interests, are the ones that catch the attention and thus enable the first step toward suggested activity to be taken.¹⁹

The objective and subjective conditions of suggestion resolve themselves, secondly, into a question of how these stimuli are evaluated, that is, related to social standards. Whether, the attention once caught, these stimuli *are* evaluated by the individual depends, as has been shown, upon his training for such evaluation. Young people whose habits and ideas are in process of formation, the weak and unstable of all ages, are not in a position to estimate these stimuli critically. McDougall says,

The suggestibility of any subject is not of the same degree at all times; it varies not only according to the topic and according to the source from which the proposition is communicated [he is speaking here of verbal suggestion only], but also with the condition of the subject's brain from hour to hour. The least degree of suggestibility is that of a wide-awake, self-reliant man of settled convictions, possessing a large store of systematically organized knowledge which he habitually brings to bear in criticism of all statements made to him. Greater degrees of suggestibility are due in the main to conditions of four kinds: (1) abnormal states of the brain, of

¹⁹ Illustrations of how the attention is got in these various ways are to be found, for example, in the yellow journal which represents an appeal both to organic appetites and to a desire for the novel (W. I. Thomas, *op. cit.*); in various forms of advertising, such as pictures of women on cigar boxes, suggestive pictures of women in the windows and on the walls of saloons, billboard signs, notably the illustration for *The Girl from Rector's*, played in Chicago in 1909, which some members of the Chicago Women's Club and of the Juvenile Protective Association took measures to have removed, a very suggestive picture advertising *The Girl in the Taxi*, and others. In addition, a number of advertisements in newspapers are based upon this same appeal. A Colorado paper displayed a picture of Ruth St. Denys dancing followed by the statement that "some people have called this dancing immoral," and other remarks to that effect, ending with "But whatever you think about the dancing, groceries at — are the ones you want." Book reviews of the type of those generally written by Jeannette Gilder are apparently based on the same principle. Books, such as *Elizabeth's Visits to America* and *Lady Cardigan's Recollections*, are reviewed in the daily papers at some length by her, in advance of their publication. The suggestive and immoral portions are liberally quoted and dwelt upon, with the result that there is usually a wide demand for the books when they appear.

which the relative dissociation obtaining in hysteria, hypnosis, normal sleep, and fatigue, is the most important; (2) deficiency of knowledge or convictions relating to the topic in regard to which the suggestion is made, and imperfect organization of knowledge; (3) the impressive character of the source from which the suggested proposition is communicated ["prestige suggestion"]; (4) peculiarities of the character and native disposition of the subject.²⁰

It is not to be understood that suggestibility is here considered as an abnormal quality. It is as necessary to social as to anti-social activity. It is when all of a person's stimuli are of one character and at the same time anti-social, as in a mob or lynching party, or in regions in which pictures, papers, theaters, books, and people are all, or nearly all, of an anti-social character, or when one has no means of distinguishing the relative social values of one or another kind of acts, that suggestibility becomes a great power for danger. "It is not mentally deficient people who are thus accessible to ideas. There is in every man a gap where these ideas can enter," says Moll (*op. cit.*, 242). Or, to put it more strongly, every man is highly suggestible in the direction of his main interest or his habitual activity, while the weak and unstable are suggestible in practically any direction, owing to the lack of organization in their activity.

It is also true that people are differently suggestible, according to their types of imagery.²¹ But the newspaper includes more than one type of suggestion. And this again increases its influence, i.e., where more than one sensation area is stimulated, there is more likelihood of response. There is verbal suggestion, which contains indirect suggestions of other types, and visual suggestion in the form of illustrations, colors, differences in the form and size of type, etc.²² In short, the modern newspaper, especially the so-called yellow and sensational elements in

²⁰ *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 98.

²¹ W. D. Scott, "Difference in Suggestibility," *Psych. Rev.* (March, 1910), 147-54.

²² There is no experimental evidence in psychology to show through which of the senses people are more commonly or easily suggestible, but it is an admitted fact that in modern life the eye has come to be the most important organ for

the modern newspaper, represent a mechanics of expression, a world of sensuous appeal, to eye and ear, which has grown up slowly in other times and in other situations and which is a distinct excitant in ways which frequently are no longer socially useful. Anything which dramatizes, makes for a break in monotony, such as the patrol-wagon, policeman, etc., is a stimulus, is exciting, and is apt to be suggestive to the small boy or to older people of the mental pattern of the small boy. The motor or activity, stimuli in the modern newspaper are of just this sort, and, on account of the important part they have played in the development of the race, make a strong appeal.²³

On the basis of the psychology of suggestion as above developed, a direct causal connection may be established between the newspaper and crime and other anti-social activities.

It is not possible to measure this influence quantitatively, but it is none the less real because it cannot be so measured, as can, for example, the numerical results of advertising suggestion,²⁴ which is an analogous case of the influence of suggestion.

picking up and mediating impressions. A common illustration of this fact is to be found in the effect of certain pictures, such as those representing abnormal activities, which often produce kinesthetic or activity effects in the person viewing them.

²³ "For the great majority of the public the emotion felt in connection with the brutal and exact details with which the press describes the most atrocious crimes vanishes after the first moment of astonishment and horror and we return tranquilly to our own thoughts and affairs; but for the lowest minority, the thing does not end so soon. A few—the predisposed, the degenerates—feel this emotion for a long time; the crime described so minutely has strongly impressed them; they think about it incessantly, it becomes a nightmare; and some day they give way to the obsession as the assassin Lemaire did, who after having stabbed a child to death, said calmly to a police agent who arrested him: 'I read in a newspaper the description of an act similar to that which I have performed, and I wished to imitate it.'"—Scipio Sighèle, *Littérature et criminalité* (Giard & Brière, Paris, 1908), 210.

²⁴ "The actual effect of modern advertising is not so much to convince as to suggest . . . the idea is suggested by the advertisement and the impulsiveness of human nature enforces the suggested idea, hence the desired result follows in a way unknown to the purchaser [unconscious suggestion]."—W. D. Scott, *Psychology of Advertising* (Small, Maynard & Co., 1908), 83. ✓

"Advertisers are, in general, wise business men and are usually able to tell whether their advertising pays or not. If it pays, they continue it; if it does not, they cease advertising," says Professor Scott (*ibid.*, 180). The brewers

It is necessary, therefore, to make, on the one hand, a careful estimate of the matter dealing with crime and other anti-social activities in the newspapers, and on the other hand an analysis of actual and typical cases in which the newspaper is known to have suggested criminal and other anti-social acts. In the following chapter the method of analysis used in tabulating the matter in the newspapers will be discussed.

NOTE.—Since the present chapter was sent to the printer, the second volume of Titchener's *Text-book of Psychology* (Macmillan, 1910) has appeared, containing the following admirable definition of suggestion, "A suggestion is any stimulus, external or internal, accompanied or unaccompanied by consciousness, which touches off a determining tendency" (p. 450).

spend enormous sums in advertising to show, on physicians' and even on preachers' authority, that beer is nutritious and non-poisonous. They make a close calculation as to approximately how much money this suggestion will cost them and profit them. They advertise especially during local option and anti-saloon agitations, as a means of contra-suggestion. Advertising here has a direct causal connection with the sale of beer. Mail-order houses and department stores advertise only in papers of large general circulation and in those which circulate among certain classes of people, different in the two cases. Also certain forms of "fake" and other miscellaneous advertisements are known to be carried principally, or wholly, by the cheap literary papers which circulate in the rural districts. Cf. *Success Magazine* (June, 1909), 412.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS USED IN THE PRESENT STUDY

Two kinds of fact regarding the influence of newspapers upon the growth of crime and other anti-social activity have been collected in this investigation: direct evidence of newspaper suggestion, consisting of cases in which the cause and effect relation between the newspaper and anti-social activity is known to have existed; and analyses of the relative amounts of space devoted by newspapers to anti-social and other matter. The latter constitutes a study of the possible objective sources of the stimuli in the newspaper to anti-social activity; the former some of the responses to these stimuli. Both studies are necessary preliminaries to any adequate control of the anti-social activity under consideration here.

The direct evidence was collected from all the available sources, from newspapers themselves, from persons who came in contact with criminals or other anti-social persons, or with juvenile offenders, and from court records. In addition 201 question-lists¹ were sent out, 74 to prison and reformatory officials, 75 to juvenile court judges and other judges, 45 to chief probation officers, and 7 to other persons. In return, 20 replies were received, 7 from prison and reformatory officials, 3 from

¹ The question-list sent out was as follows:

1. Do you know of any persons, young or old, who have received the idea of committing some crime or abnormal act from the newspapers?
2. If so, will you answer the following questions regarding them: (a) name and place; (b) description of act committed and circumstances; (c) newspaper from which the idea was obtained; date and place of publication; (d) if there is a court record, please cite it in addition.
3. Did you get your information from the person's own confession, from the fact that the newspaper account and the act corresponded closely, from the fact that the act followed quickly upon the account?
4. Can you refer me to anyone else from whom information of this sort could be got?

Please number answers to correspond with questions.

juvenile court judges, 8 from chief probation officers, and 2 from other sources.² The results from all these sources are collected in chapter vi.

The object in view in analyzing the material in newspapers was to get a clear and accurate idea of the relative amounts of space given to news and other matter relating to anti-social and other activities. This was undertaken not because the actual amount of anti-social matter in a newspaper is known to bear a direct relation to the growth of crime, or because we have any evidence to show that changes in the two bear a constant relation to one another. (A study of this matter would be an important one to undertake.) The value of the quantitative analysis undertaken here, which is based upon a qualitative analysis of the material measured, is conceived to lie first in its more exact characterization of the newspaper matter which we are considering as stimuli to activity, this characterization being indispensable to any changes in the newspapers. One of the first questions asked by those to whom this matter is being mentioned for the first time is, "But is there *much* of this news of crime in our papers and *how much*?" This question implies the second reason for the value of the quantitative study, that the amount of anti-social matter of certain types is a factor which enters (1) into the conscious or unconscious selection of reading matter on the part of individual readers, and (2) into the possible length of time during which the attention is occupied with anti-social matter. For the purpose stated above it would not suffice merely to count all of the matter in the paper dealing with anti-social themes and to compare that amount with all the matter not concerned with anti-social subjects—a method which has been followed in previous treatments. Such a comparison, while it would have some interest, would not have any special significance, because, in the first place, it would be too general, and because in the second place, there is no real basis of comparison

² Mr. Anthony Comstock, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, and Mrs. G. H. Britton, superintendent of the Juvenile Protection Association, Chicago, Ill.

between matter qualitatively different. In other words, such a comparison does not make clear the fact that matter relating to anti-social circumstances and activities appears in different forms, some in the literary section of the paper, some in the "news proper," some in book reviews, and still other matter in advertisements, sporting news, and editorials. Nor does it take account of the fact that a definite amount of matter in newspapers is of such a nature as never to be anti-social in character—for example: market and financial news, legal, marriage and death notices, weather reports, and miscellaneous matter, such as "beauty talks," recipes for housekeepers, etc. Any adequate analysis and estimate of newspaper matter must be based upon a careful classification of the material in papers; and the percentages of matter dealing with anti-social subjects must be carefully classified and related to the total of that kind of material of which it is a part, and not to the whole of the matter. Only thus is an accurate picture to be made of the material in newspapers, and a working basis arrived at for changes in newspapers.

Consequently, newspaper matter was classified as follows: I, Regular news; II, Critical, including book reviews, theatrical news and criticism, musical criticism; III, Literary and illustrations (exclusive of illustrations which are organic parts of the printed piece and which are included with the printed matter with which they occur); IV, Editorial; V, Sporting news; VI, Market and financial news; VII, Notices, i.e., weather reports, marriages, deaths, society, and miscellaneous items. Advertisements were totally excluded from tabulation, and sporting news was excluded from among the tabulated sources of anti-social suggestion; the former, not because considered unimportant but because the limits of the present study precluded the special treatment which their qualitatively different effect demands; the latter not because it is held not to be the source of much brutalizing effect, but because again the limits of the present study debarred a consideration of this type of suggestion which it is difficult, with our present evidence, to analyze and prove.*

* A separate study of both advertisements and of sporting news should be made, the former with special reference to medical advertisements and their

Material falling under some of the classifications, as VI and VII, would evidently contain little or no anti-social matter.

The unit used in measuring newspaper matter was the inch instead of the item, because the former gives a comparative quantitative space estimate, which the latter, a unit of varying size, does not afford.⁴ The total amount of matter under each heading, as well as the total amount of anti-social matter under each heading, was measured.

The general basis for the definition of "anti-social matter" was explained above⁵ in connection with the word *anti-social*. It was stated that this basis is founded on the objective effects of newspaper matter, its suggested consequences, rather than its intent. Any kind of matter, therefore, which may furnish suggestion to anti-social activity is considered anti-social. More specifically, it includes, on the side of content: (1) not merely such matter as would obviously and technically be regarded as dealing with crime juridically considered, but (2) all material which a scientific psychology and psychiatry would classify as affording stimuli to anti-social, that is, criminal and immoral, acts.⁶ This classification is not less true to the facts than one based on a juridical definition, but it is more specifically inclusive of the various types of matter which incite to anti-social activity, which, if not criminal, may be either immediately or indirectly criminal in its results. That is to say, it includes matter which not only describes acts criminal in the legal sense, but also those acts which are immoral but not legally criminal. And on the other hand, it also includes not only matter which stimulates directly to crime, but also such items as stimulate directly to

effect. Cf. *Survey* (June 25, 1910), 503. The efforts to prevent the exhibition of moving pictures of the Johnson-Jeffries prize fight, together with less widespread but none the less strong protest regarding the attention given by newspapers in news columns and pictures to the same fight are evidences of the popular conviction as to the effect of sporting news.

⁴ Cf. chap. ii.

⁵ Cf. chap. i.

⁶ It makes little or no difference in what form this material happens to appear—whether as news, stories, book reviews, etc. Cf. chap. ii.

immorality and thus indirectly to crime. There is no real division line here between the legally criminal and the immoral, though the two are not coterminous and the latter is perhaps a wider category than the former. To stop with the legally criminal would be to underestimate the anti-social effect of much newspaper suggestion (as also of much suggestion from five-cent theaters and other dramatic performances), because descriptions of legally criminal acts may incite both to criminal acts and to immoral acts, and descriptions of immoral acts may incite both to other immoral acts and to criminal acts. In other words, a description of a criminal act may incite to another criminal act or only to an immoral act, while a description of an immoral act may stimulate not only to another immoral act but also even to a legally criminal act. On the basis of this explanation, therefore, the matter classified as anti-social was of two general sorts:

I. Descriptions of criminal acts: (*a*) inciting to other criminal acts; (*b*) inciting to immoral acts.

II. Descriptions of immoral acts: (*a*) inciting to other immoral acts; (*b*) inciting to criminal acts.

The criterion here worked out is not as definite as the one based on a juridical or legal definition, for it depends, in a larger degree, upon the judgment and experience of the person using it and does not work as automatically as does the juridical criterion or category. It depends for its utility upon the knowledge and use of psychological principles. A large body of psychological and psychiatric facts, however, are at the basis of it. It becomes, consequently, more useful than the juridical criterion, in that it includes all types of significant anti-social relation between the newspaper and activity, that is, it takes care of the social and ethical facts in the case. Moreover, it ultimately furnishes a basis for a legal or juridical definition. It is one of the fundamental principles of jurisprudence that formulations of law follow customs, that certain moral and social principles are recognized generally before they are formulated as law. ("Moral notions progress faster and develop quicker than law." The latter presents, so to speak, a lower step in de-

velopment, a step which morals have already taken."⁷ To leave out of account, therefore, a large body of activities classified as immoral but not illegal would be to ignore the important relation of this type of activity to law.

Of this anti-social matter, as just defined, three divisions or classes were made on the basis of degree of possible suggestiveness in order to show the qualitative differences in "anti-social matter." The first and narrowest division includes what may be termed obvious material for suggestion, that is, material dealing with crime or immorality in such a detailed and striking manner as to constitute what the psychologist and psychiatrist would recognize as a most probable medium of anti-social suggestion. Examples are: detailed accounts of murders, suicides, robberies, rape, abnormal sexual relations and exhibitions, etc. The Thaw trial is a specific example of this type.

The second division includes matter of a less detailed sort, in which details and bare facts of murder and other crimes, etc., are not directly presented, but indirectly indicated and perhaps called up quite vividly. Examples are: references to crimes and immoral acts which have been detailed at great length in the papers, or short, relatively undetailed accounts of the kind of fact mentioned in the preceding example. Ordinarily an item is classified on the basis of its immediate content, although its reference to previous related items must be taken into consideration.

The third division includes all other mentions of anti-social facts. The matter in this division *may* be suggestive in various ways which it is difficult to get at. A mere two-line mention of the arrest of a murderer may, for example, call up all of the anti-social images which a former detailed account of that same murder, or of another, has established in the neural set. Vague

⁷ N. M. Korkunov, *General Theory of Law* (Boston Book Co., 1909), 63. See also on this same point: Roscoe Pound, "The Causes of Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice," *Report of American Bar Association* (1906), XXIX, 399; Carter, *Law, Its Origin, Growth and Function* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), 320; Augustus Pulazky, *Theory of Law and Civil Society* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1886), 312; G. F. Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionen* (Breitkopf und Härtel, 1850), Bd. I, S. 31.

statements concerning the illegal dealings of the Sugar Trust, or of the Beef Trust, may set up in the minds of young people and others standards of public and commercial dishonesty which have a vague but real effect upon later conduct. However, this cannot be taken for granted or too closely insisted upon.

The boundary lines between these classifications of newspaper matter are not and cannot be either wholly distinct or exact. The categories are not made too inclusive, however. They are not so inclusive as to cover matter that is not suggestive within the limits established above. As a matter of fact, any news may be suggestive in an anti-social direction. Psychologically the criterion of this suggestiveness is exceedingly indefinite and shifting. No more definite one, however, is offered by psychology, and the present analysis can be pushed only so far as the psychological knowledge and experience already worked out admit. The difference between divisions III and II is a difference of the directness with which the stimulus can go over into activity. Stories of graft, as they are ordinarily told in the newspapers, are likely to go over into activity of an anti-social type less directly and immediately, while detailed accounts of murders or robberies, because of their stronger motor or activity appeal, may go over at once. The situation might, however, be reversed, and for this and other reasons given above, all of these categories are necessary to cover all possible stimuli to anti-social activity. The basis of I and II is *treatment* of anti-social facts; of III the mere mention of such facts.⁸

The following classification of the anti-social matter in one of the papers analyzed will serve to illustrate the kinds of items included in each of the three categories. Only the titles of articles are given. The reason for including each item under its

⁸ The most inclusive classification, III, is that used supposedly by all other tabulators of anti-social material in newspapers—supposedly, because the basis of their classification is not made sufficiently clear by them. Qualitative distinctions in newspaper matter based upon the possible objective effect of such matter have not been made by previous tabulators. Their classifications have been, as has been pointed out above, on the basis of content of items. Classification III is based upon the mere content of items and is consequently most nearly like former classifications.

TABLE I
ILLUSTRATING THE CLASSIFICATION OF NEWSPAPER MATTER UNDER THE CATEGORIES*

I	II	III
MOBS BEAT POLICEMAN (referring to Philadelphia car strike). (Miss Addams' statement.†)	INDICT DAVIES IN C. H. FOSTER EXTORTION CASE. (Unnecessary details.)	BETTS CHARGES IN COAL LAND C
EXPERTS BATTLE AT STOUT TRIAL. (Murder trial; arousing curiosity, beautiful young girl exciting sentimental sympathy.)	GIRL'S ESCORT STABBED; CRAWLS MILE FOR AID. (Wording and situation arouse abnormal interest.)	MERCHANT SHOT, JAIL: RESULT OF GAME. GEM SUSPECT BRO BACK.
PICTURE OF MOUNTED POLICEMAN DISPERSING MOB. (Definiteness of act, firing into mob.)	ELECTROCUTE NEGRO SLAYER. (Instils admiration for negro criminal by quoting his sentimental prayer.)	BARON SLAIN IN F DUEL BY FORM FRIEND.
NEW RIOTS IN PHILADELPHIA. (Miss Addams' statement.†)	HOTEL LASALLE WOMAN GUEST FOUND INJURED. (Sensational situation, mystery.)	MYSTERY IN DEAF FRIEND OF SER QUAY.
CAR STRIKE LEADERS DECLARE DYNAMITE PRISONERS MARTYRS. (Part of car strike item above.)	FUGITIVE NURSE HELD AS THIEF RAVES IN CELL (Unnecessary abnormal details.)	RAID SALOON AFTER FRAY. (All of these items more or less barements of criminal other anti-social
"I SHALL GO FREE," SAYS GIRL ON TRIAL AS SLAYER. (Stout trial continued.)	WRAITH OF OLD LOVE DARKENS PATHWAY OF NEW. (Idea of immoral conduct.)	
MAN FORGING "LOAN" FROM RICH FACES COURT. (Details of getting money under false pretenses.)	PACKERS FEAR INDICTMENTS IN CITY THIS WEEK. (Disregarding legal summons.‡)	
SEEK TO SET DAY FOR TRIAL OF REV. KEMP. (Recalls concrete abnormal details.)		

* Such items as the following, entitled "Woman Pinned under Car Half-Hour, Dies," giving of injuries, have not been included. A large class of items presenting details of deaths from epileptic fits concerning insane asylums, as well as much sporting news, has not been included in any categories. Nevertheless, this class of items often have an abnormal effect (people occasionally get mentally unbalanced from reading them), and are quite unnecessary in the newspaper.

† "For ten years I had lived in a neighborhood which was by no means criminal, and yet during the summer and November of 1898 we were startled by ten murders within a radius of ten blocks. A little investigation of details and motives, the accident of a personal acquaintance with two of the criminals, it not in the least difficult to trace the murders back to the influence of the war. Simple people of carnage and bloodshed easily receive suggestions. Habits of self-control which have been built up and imperfectly acquired quickly break down when such stress is put upon them."—Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 43.

‡ "Boys and girls read about graft and dishonesty among people in the supposedly higher life, and the example is a powerful thing for evil in their lives. Children become calloused more to vice, and get really false notions, because what they read in the papers is after all the exception and too many of us are prone to judge the general condition by what is, after all, only an exceptional special condition."—Ben B. Lindsey, *The Light*, September, 1906.

TABLE I—Continued

I	II	III
HOLD MAN FOR SENDING GIRL POISON. (Details of method.)	PHYSICIAN ENDS LIFE AS FAMILY LOOKS ON. (Sensational details.)	
\$525 LOOTED FROM SAFE. (Method given.)	ARREST IN HOTEL RAID. (Description of disorderly conduct.)	
ELEANOR ROBSON IN HER LATEST AND HER FUTURE RÔLE. (Picture making sexual appeal.)	WIFE SHOTS AT MAN SHE SAYS DENIED HER FOOD. (Sensational details.)	
HOW JACQUES CODELL DIED. (Short story describing how a spiritualist suggested idea of his death to a man until he killed himself.)		

particular category is given in parenthesis directly beneath the title.

In the following chapter the results obtained by the method outlined above will be stated and explained.

CHAPTER V

TABULAR ANALYSIS OF THE PAPERS STUDIED

With the definition of anti-social matter determined upon as explained in the preceding chapter, the measurement of papers was undertaken. The analysis was confined to an intensive study of a comparatively small number of representative American papers exclusive of Sunday issues.¹ The papers analyzed were, first, the daily papers taken by the Chicago Public Library for three different dates, November 1 and 30, 1909, and January 3, 1910. The issues for those dates were not selected by the writer, but were merely those which it was convenient for the library to give away. This set of papers comprised, in general and in the main, the more conservative newspapers of the country. Altogether they numbered 130 for the three issues, though some were in such mutilated condition that they could not be analyzed, and, therefore, data from only 103 issues appear in the tables. Second, the *Chicago E*—— and the *Chicago D*—— were analyzed for the month of February, 1910, and the *New York A*——, the *New York B*——, the *New York C*——, and the *Denver G*——, each for seven days in the same month, February 18 to 27 inclusive. These Chicago, Denver, and New York papers were chosen because they are not among those taken by the Chicago Public Library, because they are well-known papers of large circulation, and because they are said to represent certain characteristic types of the American newspaper.²

¹ Since the object of the analysis was to obtain comparative results as far as possible, the Sunday issues could not be included, because, (1) a large number of representative papers have no Sunday issues, and (2) the Sunday editions represent characteristics so diverse from the week-day papers in size, arrangement of matter, and apportionment of space that they could not be included in an average which was to be compared with another average in which a Sunday edition was lacking. They demand separate treatment, therefore; but it was not possible within the limits of this study to consider them.

² With the exception of *Chicago E*——, a morning paper which has been characterized as "one of the best newspapers in the country of the moderately

The newspapers were carefully read and the anti-social matter in them marked as follows: The matter falling under division I of Table I⁸ was numbered (4), the matter falling under division II of Table I was numbered (3), and all other mention of anti-social activities was numbered (2). This numbering held for matter under all the headings except that marked "editorial," in which case a slightly different classification was necessarily used. The editorials dealing with anti-social facts from a constructively social viewpoint were marked (2), those dealing with anti-social facts from an anti-social viewpoint were marked (3).

The following form of table was used for tabulating the first results and for purposes of computation:

	Reg. News				Critical				Literary				Editorial			Sporting	Markets	Notices
	I	2	3	4	I	2	3	4	I	2	3	4	I	2	3			
No. Inches . .																		
Percentage . .																		

Column 1 under each heading represents the total number of inches of that class of matter; column 2, all the matter dealing with anti-social facts in that class, including also columns 3 and 4; column 4 represents matter falling under division I of Table I; column 3 represents the sum of divisions I and II of the same table, that is, the sum of matter which constitutes an obvious medium of suggestion and of matter of a less detailed sort, as described in chap. iv. Divisions I and II were both grouped under 3 in order to show more graphically the total percentage of matter that should be removed from the newspaper in making any constructive change in it. The results were then combined in the tables that follow. These results may seem meager, but they were all that could be obtained from a study carried on accurately and intensively within the limited time of the investi-

conservative kind," these papers have generally been designated as "yellow journals" and some of them of the worst type. These papers were chosen for analysis on the basis of the popular classification given them. The results of the analysis in this chapter will throw some light on the justice of this classification.

⁸ Cf. Table I, chap. iv.

gation. They comprise, however, accurate averages from representative papers of a fairly wide range as to type, time, and territory.

Table II represents a comparison of the general news section of the papers taken by the Chicago Public Library for the three dates of November 1 and 30, 1909, and January 3, 1910, with averages for all the papers for the three dates taken together, and with totals for all the papers taken together for each date. Columns 1, 2, 3, and 4 under each date represent the total number of inches of news of the types described above as indicated in these columns.⁴ The figures immediately below those in inches are the corresponding percentages, on the basis of the total number of inches of "news proper" taken as 100 per cent. The totals for November 1, 1909, in percentage terms, are: column 2, 7.63; column 3, 5.58; and column 4, 4.72, as contrasted with the percentages for January 3, 1910: column 2, 13.61; column 3, 7.65; and column 4, 6.24, and further with November 30, 1909: column 2, 15.25; column 3, 8.14; and column 4, 6.52. These total percentages and averages represent results from 103 of the rather more conservative papers in the country, ranging from 0.69 per cent for column 2 in the *Springfield H*—— of November 1, to 21.27 per cent for column 2 in the *Toledo I*—— of the same date; for November 30, ranging from 1.04 per cent for column 2 in the *Springfield H*—— to 29.61 per cent for column 2 in the *New York K*——; and for January 3, 1910, ranging from 1.61 per cent for column 2 in the *Springfield H*—— to 26.14 per cent for column 2 in the *Philadelphia L*——. The corresponding, or minimum and maximum, figures for column 4 on the same dates are: 0.32 in the *Louisville M*—— and 15.59 in the *Tacoma O*—— for November 1; 0.00 in the *Springfield H*—— and 14.65 in the *Philadelphia L*—— for January 3; and for November 30, 0.27 in the *Springfield H*—— and 12.68 in the *Omaha P*——.

Table III represents a comparison of the regular news section and the literary and pictorial section of the *Chicago D*—— with

⁴ Newspaper columns vary in length in different papers. It was necessary, therefore, to reduce columns to a common basis of inches.

TABLE II
GENERAL NEWS SECTION

	November 1, 1909				November 30, 1909				January 3, 1910				Average—Three Dates			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Number of papers 103...																
Total number inches.....	27,411.75	2,091	1,530.75	1,492.50	25,793.75	3,033.75	2,099.25	1,682	30,276.25	3,084.25	2,238.75	1,816.25	82,481.50	10,009	5,668.75	4,791.50
Percentages.....	100	7.63	5.58	4.72	100	15.25	8.14	6.52	100	13.01	7.95	6.24	100	12.13	6.87	5.80

TABLE III

	REGULAR NEWS SECTION								LITERARY AND PICTORIAL SECTION							
	Chicago D——				Chicago E——				Chicago D——				Chicago E——			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Total inches.....	10,222	3,790	2,364	2,046	19,072	3,775.50	1,694.5	1,417.5	6,267	906	906	894	2,749.5	12	..	..
Percentages.....	100	37.10	23.02	20.02	100	18.90	8.48	7.10	100	14.45	14.45	14.27	100	.44	..	..

TABLE IV
GENERAL NEWS SECTION

	New York A——				New York B——				New York C——				Denver G——			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
February 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.....																
Total inches.....	4,068	1,728	883	759	5,340	2,018	424	316	6,388	2,121	795	555	5,714	1,522	795	615
Percentages.....	100	42.47	21.70	18.65	100	37.78	7.94	5.91	100	33.20	12.44	7.71	100	26.63	14.08	10.76

TABLE VII

Name of Paper	Total Space	General News Section				Critical				Literary and Illustrations				Editorial			Sporting	Market, Financial, etc.	Miscellaneous
		I	2	3	4	I	2	3	4	I	2	3	4	I	2	3			
Chicago D.....	6,862.5	2,000	809	550	467	360	3	3	3	1,451	130	130	130	300	..	64	1,538.5	311	93
Chicago E.....	100	42.30	13.10	8.01	6.81	5.25	04	04	04	21.14	1.89	1.89	1.89	4.37	..	93	22.42	4.53	1.16
Chicago F.....	8,282.5	51.76	11.97	443	395	289	14	14	14	602	12	..	..	380	10	..	974	1,376.5	485
New York A.....	100	62.40	14.45	5.35	4.77	3.49	17	17	17	7.27	14	..	..	4.59	23	..	11.76	16.62	586
New York B.....	6,883	3,502	1,427	747	663	54	14	14	14	1,871	263	263	246	270	50	40	1,165	21	..
New York C.....	100	49.66	20.87	10.79	9.20	58	15	15	15	28.42	3.23	3.23	3.15	3.71	91	43	17.35	31	..
New York D.....	7,953	5,598	1,827	545	450	264	22	14	08	6.26	..	..	..	274	9	6	631	514	190
New York E.....	100	71.62	21.15	7.92	6.93	2.41	22	14	08	6.26	..	..	..	3.60	09	06	8.53	5.03	2.55
New York F.....	9,425	4,650	1,737	378	287	378	..	..	..	6.01	20	24	24	3.28	24	09	1,008	1,612	897
New York G.....	100	50.67	18.58	4.44	3.15	4.70	..	..	..	17.84	..	20	20	338.5	..	..	9.87	16.90	8.68
Denver A.....	9,826	4,693.5	1,225	748.25	585	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver B.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver C.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver D.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver E.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver F.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver G.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver H.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver I.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver J.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver K.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver L.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver M.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver N.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver O.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver P.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver Q.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver R.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver S.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver T.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver U.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver V.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver W.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver X.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver Y.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver Z.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AA.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AB.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AC.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AD.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AE.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AF.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AG.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AH.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AI.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AJ.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AK.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AL.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AM.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AN.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AO.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AP.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AQ.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AR.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AS.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AT.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AU.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AV.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AW.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AX.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AY.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver AZ.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BA.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BB.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BC.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BD.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BE.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BF.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BG.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BH.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BI.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	17.84	..	..	..	338.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,622.5	1,125
Denver BJ.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.														

those of the *Chicago E*—— for February, 1910. The average percentages of anti-social news for the *Chicago D*—— are 37.16 for column 2, 23.02 for column 3, and 20.02 for column 4, as compared with *Chicago E*——'s 18.90 per cent for column 2, 8.48 per cent for column 3, and 7.10 per cent for column 4. The percentages of anti-social matter in the literary and pictorial section are, for the *Chicago D*——, 14.45 for both columns 2 and 3, and 14.27 for column 4, as compared with 0.44 per cent in column 2 alone, for the *Chicago E*——.

Table IV contains a comparison of the general news sections of three New York papers and of the *Denver G*—— for seven corresponding days in February, 1910. The *New York A*—— has the highest percentages in all three columns, 42.47 for column 2, 21.70 for column 3, and 18.45 for column 4 respectively. The *New York B*—— has the lowest percentage of news, in column 4, 5.91 as compared with 18.65 for the *New York A*——, 7.71 for the *New York C*——, and 10.76 for the *Denver G*——. The percentage of news which would fall under the second division of Table I, found by subtracting column 4 from 3, is lowest in the *New York B*——, 2.43, and is slightly higher in the other three papers: 3.05 in the *New York A*——, 3.38 in the *Denver G*——, and 4.73 in the *New York C*——.

Comparing the percentages of the New York papers and of the *Denver G*—— for columns 2 and 4 with corresponding percentages for the two Chicago papers here analyzed, and ranging them according to size of percentage in each column, we have the result given in Table V.

TABLE V
COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF ANTI-SOCIAL NEWS IN COLUMNS 2 AND 4

COLUMN 2		COLUMN 4	
Name of Newspaper	Percentage	Name of Newspaper	Percentage
<i>New York A</i> ——.....	42.47	<i>Chicago D</i> ——.....	20.02
<i>New York B</i> ——.....	37.78	<i>New York A</i> ——.....	18.65
<i>Chicago D</i> ——.....	37.16	<i>Denver G</i> ——.....	10.76
<i>New York C</i> ——.....	33.20	<i>New York C</i> ——.....	7.71
<i>Denver G</i> ——.....	26.63	<i>Chicago E</i> ——.....	7.10
<i>Chicago E</i> ——.....	18.90	<i>New York B</i> ——.....	5.91

Table VI is made up of the average percentages for sections I, II, III, and IV of all the papers studied. Thus it represents the average percentages for the three dates of the 103 papers in Table II, the averages for the *Chicago E*—— and *Chicago D*—— for the month of February, the averages for the *New York A*——, *New York B*——, and *New York C*——, and the *Denver G*—— for seven days in February, 1910.

Table VII is the most inclusive of all the tables. It represents a comparison of the six papers for certain common dates, February 18 to 27, inclusive, omitting the twenty-first, for which date one paper was lacking. The first column, marked "Total Space," contains the total number of inches of matter, exclusive of advertising space, in each of these papers for the dates mentioned, that is, the sum of the first columns under each section. The upper figures for each paper under each section represent in the first columns the total number of inches of each kind of matter, and in columns 2, 3, and 4 the number of inches of anti-social matter under each category for each kind of matter. Under sections V, VI, and VII, as has previously been explained, only the total number of inches of that kind of matter appears. The lower figures for each paper in every case are percentages of the "total space." This table is significant as representing a comparative intensive study of the relative apportionment of matter in these papers and of the percentages of anti-social matter in relation to the entire paper (exclusive of advertisements) rather than to each class section separately. In the general news section the percentages range for mention of anti-social facts (column 2) from 21.15 per cent for the *New York C*—— to 15.52 per cent for the *Denver G*; for column 3, from 10.79 per cent in the *New York A*—— to 4.44 per cent in the *New York B*——; and for column 4, from 9.29 per cent in the *New York A*—— to 3.15 per cent in the *New York B*——. It will be seen from these figures that even when the percentages are taken on the basis of the total reading-matter in the paper they are still high for this class of papers. It should be noted also that it so happened that the dates here analyzed did not

TABLE VI

	Regular News Section				Critical				Literary and Pictures				Editorial		
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
103 Papers for November 1, 1909; November 30, 1909, and January 3, 1910	100	12.13	6.87	5.80	100	.17	.17	..	100	1.46	1.46	1.14	100	.68	.75
<i>Chicago D</i>	100	37.16	23.02	20.02	100	3.22	3.22	1.55	100	14.45	14.45	14.27	100	..	6.58
<i>Chicago E</i>	100	18.90	8.48	7.10	100	4.10	3.20	2.30	100	.44	..	..	100	1.54	..
<i>New York A</i>	100	42.47	21.70	18.65	100	25.93	25.93	25.93	010	11.37	11.37	10.78	100	22.11	10.53
<i>New York C</i>	100	33.20	12.44	7.71	100	12.43	12.43	8.38	*(687)	..	..	..	100	1.82	1.21
<i>New York B</i>	100	37.78	7.94	5.91	*(557)	..	..	..	100	2.93	2.93	2.93	100	10.37	4.07
<i>Denver G</i>	100	26.63	14.08	10.76	*(91.75)	..	..	..	*(2,276.5)	..	..	..	*(452)	..	..

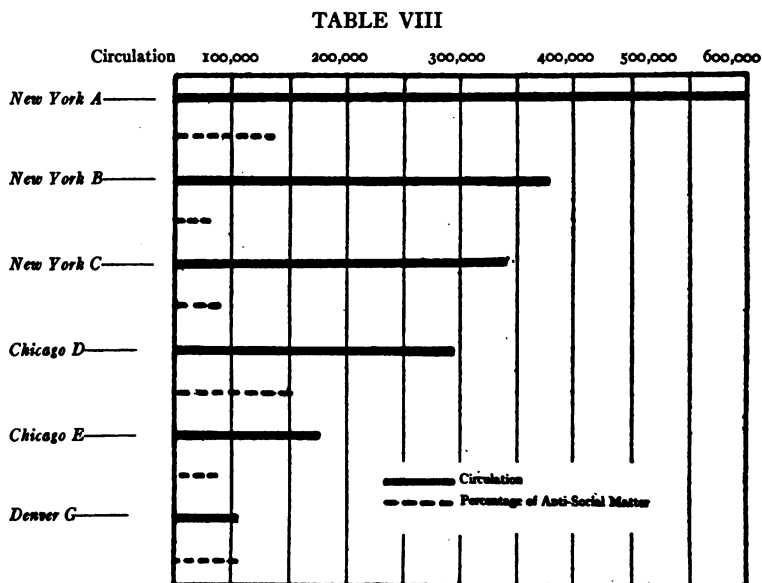
* Inches are given here instead of percentages because there was no basis of comparison, i.e., no anti-social matter from which to estimate percentages.

TABLE VII

Name of Paper	Total Space	General News Section				Critical				Literary and Illustrations				Editorial			Sporting	Market, Financial, etc.	Miscellaneous
		I	2	3	4	I	2	3	4	I	2	3	4	I	2	3			
Chicago D.....	6,862.5	2,000	809	550	467	360	3	3	3	1,451	130	130	130	300	..	64	1,538.5	311	93
Chicago E.....	100	42.39	13.10	8.01	6.81	5.25	.04	.04	.14	21.14	1.80	1.80	1.80	4.37	10	..	22.42	4.53	1.36
Chicago F.....	8,282.5	51.76	11.07	443	395	280	14	14	14	602	12	..	..	380	..	..	974	1,376.5	485
Chicago G.....	100	62.40	14.45	535	471	340	17	17	17	7.27	14	..	..	459	.23	..	11.76	16.62	5.86
New York A.....	6,883	3,502	1,437	747	663	54	14	14	14	18.71	263	263	246	270	50	40	1,165	21	..
New York B.....	100	40.66	20.87	10.70	9.20	28.15	15	15	15	28.42	3.23	3.23	3.15	371	.01	43	11.76	11.76	..
New York C.....	7,953	5,598	1,827	545	450	264	22	14	.08	483	22	24	24	274	9	..	631	514	100
New York D.....	100	71.62	21.15	7.92	6.93	2.41	.22	.14	.08	6.26	..	..	..	360	.06	86	8.53	5.93	2.55
New York E.....	9,425	4,650	1,737	378	287	378	..	..	..	672	24	24	24	208	28	11	1,008	1,612	807
New York F.....	100	50.67	18.58	4.44	3.35	4.70	..	..	..	6.91	20	20	20	228	24	09	9.87	16.90	8.68
Denver G.....	9,826	4,693.5	1,235	748.25	585	..	..	..	..	18.16	..	..	..	328.5	..	..	1,885.5	1,022.5	412.5
Denver H.....	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	..	..	..	..	18.16	..	..	..	334	..	..	16.14	10.41	4.20
Total inches.....	49,232	26,578.5	8,312	3,411.25	2,847	1,345	53	45	39	6,862	420	417	400	1,706.5	106	121	6,902	4,857	2,077.5
Percentage.....	100	53.88	16.88	6.93	5.78	2.73	11	9.08	.08	13.94	87	85	81	3.58	22	25	14.02	9.87	4.22
Papers analyzed for the Three Dates mentioned above...	154,841	82,481.5	10,000	5,868.75	4,791.75	1,802.75	8	8	..	11,610.75	170	170	170	1,917.5	65	72	16,081	20,391.75	9,855.75
Dates mentioned above...	100	53.27	6.46	3.79	3.09	3.10	.005	.005	..	7.50	11	11	11	6.21	.04	.05	10.39	13.17	.62

include any special criminal "sensation" or "crime"; hence the averages are lower than they otherwise would be.

The figures so far given have not had any reference to the matter of the circulation of the newspapers. Consequently, the comparative potential influence of these newspapers with respect to the number of people by whom they are read has been ignored. The following diagram, Table VIII, indicates a more significant fact for purposes of comparison in that it shows side by side the approximate circulation and the percentage of anti-social matter in column 4 of each paper.



In this table the paper with the greatest circulation, the *New York A*———, is taken as 100 per cent and the circulation of the other papers represented as percentages of that. The figures for circulation were taken from Ayer & Sons' *Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1910.

A comparison of the general news section and the editorial section of all the papers studied is especially to be noted in this table. It appears from these figures that whereas the *Chicago D*——— has 20.02 per cent of matter falling under column 4 in its news columns, none of its editorial space is devoted to a treatment of these anti-social facts in a socially constructive man-

ner (column 2) devoted 6.58 per cent of the space in its editorial columns is devoted to editorials dealing with anti-social matter from an anti-social point of view (column 3). The *Chicago E*——, on the other hand, devoted 1.54 per cent of the space in its editorial columns to discussion of anti-social facts from a social viewpoint (column 2), and did not, within the period studied, deal with such matter at all from an anti-social standpoint. The *New York A*—— leads all the other papers studied in the percentage of its editorial space (22.11, column 2) given to a constructively social discussion of anti-social matter, and likewise in the percentage (10.53, column 3) given to an anti-social discussion of such matter. The *Chicago E*—— and the *New York A*—— represent the extremes for the papers studied.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF CASES

The present chapter deals with cases in which there is proof of the influence of the newspaper upon anti-social activity.

The actual number of cases of this sort cited in comparison with the number assumed to exist is small, but the purpose in gathering instances in which anti-social stimuli were received from the newspaper was not to make an exhaustive list of such cases. That would have been impossible within the limited time and with the facilities available. The purpose was to establish the existence, not the full quantitative extent, of anti-social newspaper influence. The machinery for getting at these cases was very inadequate, because the questionnaire method alone was available, and because this method is not one likely to bring either numerous or detailed results. Few cases are, as yet, to be found in the literature of criminology¹ or in court records, because thus far the less obvious sources and causes of crime have been only slightly studied, and there was no means of getting information directly from persons influenced by the newspapers. Moreover, only cases of conscious suggestion² could be collected, that is, cases in which the relation between the newspaper as stimulus and the resulting response had been recognized at the time by the person involved and was thus remembered, that is, in which there could be introspective evidence of the relation. Of

¹ Those cases which do appear in the literature of criminology are to be found chiefly in the work of the French and Italian writers. There are, however, statements by American authorities on criminology to the effect that the press is responsible for anti-social activities. Cf. Philip A. Parsons, "Responsibility for Crime, An Investigation of the Nature and Causes of Crime and a Means of Its Prevention," *Columbia University Studies in Political Science*, XXXIV, No. 3, p. 190; Maurice Parmelee, *op. cit.*, 260; C. R. Henderson, *An Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes* (2d ed., enlarged and revised; D. C. Heath Co., 1893), 139. Criminal court and juvenile court records do not as yet include these data.

² Cf. chap. iii.

those that could be thus introspectively ascertained, only a certain proportion, in actual fact, would be remembered by the persons themselves, and still fewer by third persons to whom confessions of such connections were made.

People do not always remember the sources of their ideas, impulses, and acts. For example, they frequently do not remember why they buy certain kinds of goods, or go to certain tailors. They forget that specific advertisements induced them to go, or else they may never have established in consciousness the connection between the advertisement and their activity. [Cf. Scott, *Psychology of Advertising*, 142, 145, 220 ff.] Just as the connection between the advertisement and the act is frequently forgotten or never recognized, so in the commission of crime the source of the stimuli is as infrequently recognized or as often forgotten.

Moreover, of the whole number of cases remembered, only certain ones would be confessed to other persons. This number would be likely to include cases of crime alone and few cases of other anti-social activity, the former being the more likely to come to official or public notice. Finally there are comparatively few reports or records of such cases, possibly because people dealing with offenders have not as yet had their attention on this unconscious cause of crime as much as on other more obvious, because more conscious, causes. The fact that a number of those to whom question-blanks were sent refer to cases of which they have not preserved any memorandum and which consequently they do not describe shows the lack of close attention to this cause of crime. Therefore, it is clear that the number of cases of newspaper suggestion to anti-social activity which it would be possible to collect at the present time would be no adequate measure of the extent to which the newspaper has actually operated as a factor in causing anti-social acts.

The evidence of the existence of newspaper suggestion to anti-social activity which has been collected in the course of this study may be classified as follows:

1. Direct introspective evidence of such connection, confessed in every case to some third person, and the details of the act described by this person.
2. Direct introspective evidence of such connection, con-

fessed to some third person, but the nature of the act and the details of the act not given.

3. Cases described in the newspapers themselves and stated by the newspapers to have been caused by reading newspaper accounts of similar crimes.

4. Statements from persons in close contact with criminals and other social offenders, to the effect that this suggestion exists, but containing no description of particular cases.

5. Analogous cases of suggestion from yellow novels, other literature, moving pictures, etc., and from foreign newspapers.

6. Epidemics of murder, robbery, suicide, etc., explained in no other way.

7. Additional indirect evidence.

The evidence will be discussed in the order here given.

1. The following cases of direct evidence of newspaper suggestion to anti-social activity, confessed by the persons involved, have been collected. Of these, two are known to have been based upon a definite item, describing a similar crime, which appeared in a Chicago newspaper for June 24, 1909. The following account was given to the writer:

This was the case of Fred Neebe, Juvenile No. 30,270, and Robert Zabel, Juvenile No. 30,275. They gave as their excuse for writing "Black Hand" letters, threatening their employer, that they had a short time before that read in a newspaper [which I am informed was the ———] about the case of a boy who had written a "Black Hand" letter, and was shot by a policeman who attempted to arrest him.³

The account follows:⁴

BLACKMAILERS BALK POLICE

ALFRED HAASE RESISTS EFFORTS TO FORCE HIM TO CONFESS CONNECTION WITH TRAGIC SCHEME OF RUDOLPH BERENDT

Alfred Haase, 33 Grand Ave., the fifteen-year-old boy accused of complicity in the plot to blackmail S. E. Grossfeld, a wealthy wholesale grocer, out of \$15,000 in which his cousin, Rudolph Berendt, aged fourteen, was killed, today balked the police who tried to frighten him into a confession that he was the leader in the conspiracy. The lad denied steadfastly that

³ John H. Witter, chief probation officer, Juvenile Court, Chicago.

⁴ This and the following excerpts from contemporary newspapers are given without the citation in each instance, upon the advice of the publisher.

he had any real knowledge of the plot or that he threatened to kill Mr. Grossfeld if the money were not forthcoming.

He was cool and collected when the police took him to view his cousin's body in an effort to break down his composure.

Calm, collected, and with steady nerves, the Haase boy, whom his dying cousin accused of instigating the plot, lifted the sheet and gazed indifferently at the features of the dead lad.

"That's the fellow," said he, in a matter-of-fact tone. He replaced the sheet, turned, and went out without the slightest show of emotion.

MOTHER SHOWS AGONY

The lad's demeanor was in dramatic contrast to the agony of the mother, Mrs. Louisa Berendt, when she saw her slain son. She screamed and became hysterical and had to be carried out of the room.

The police had planned to break down the Haase boy's composure by forcing him to identify his slain companion and thus lead him to tell more about the blackmail plot than he had told.

In a statement he blamed everything to the dead boy, saying that he himself had no real part in the plot, but the police were inclined to doubt this.

"This Haase boy is the calmest, coolest lad I ever saw," said Detective Weinrich, who fired the fatal shot at the young Berendt and who continued in the investigation today. "He seems to have no nerves and no emotions. I never saw a grown man accused of crime behave more coolly."

TAKEN BACK TO CELL

After the identification of his cousin, young Haase was taken back to the Chicago Avenue Station, where Inspector Healy and Captain Kane began a rigorous examination, hoping to get more facts from him.

BOY REVEALS THE SECRETS IN BLACKMAILING TRAGEDY

The Berendt boy was shot and fatally wounded by Detective Weinrich near Desplaines Street and Grand Avenue, when he tried to escape after receiving two bundles from Mr. Grossfeld at the muzzle of a revolver.

The lad believed the packages contained the \$15,000 he sought. The Haase boy, in his story told the police early in the day, blamed the crime to his cousin and said Rudolph was led to his downfall by reading "Wild West" five-cent novels. Four other men were on the scene in the belief that they were dealing with a desperate blackmail gang and helped to arrest the fatally wounded boy. They were Detectives Charles Essig, William Rose, William Parker, and Frank Zus.

CRAZY OVER NOVELS

"My cousin Rudolph was crazy over Wild West novels," said Haase. "He would read stories of cowboys and Indians and bad men all the time

and thought of nothing else. That was what caused all the trouble. He wanted to go out West and become a 'bad man.' He often said he would like to be a terror of the plains.

"Last Monday he came to me and said, 'Al, I've a scheme to make a lot of money. I'm going to write a letter to a fellow and get \$15,000. I've got a scheme all worked out. I've got to get out West and be a cowboy and I need the money awfully bad.'

"'What's your scheme?' I asked.

AFTER A LOT OF MONEY

"He wouldn't tell me just then, except that he was going to get a lot of money. So we agreed to meet yesterday at Austin Avenue and Desplaines Street, and he was to tell me more of the plan.

"I met Rudy there and he was much excited. 'I've got it all fixed up,' he told me. 'There's a rich chap that I've got scared, and he's going to be along with the coin.'

"Just then a man with a straw hat and a cane came down the street and Rudy went to meet him.

"I noticed at the time that there were two men trying to fix an automobile in the road nearby.

TELLS OF TRAGEDY

"I saw Rudy meet the man and they talked a little bit. Just a few words. Rudy pointed something at him as they were standing close together and I knew it was his revolver which Rudy always carries. The man gave him two bundles and Rudy started back to me.

"Just then the two men at work on the auto started up and yelled to Rudy to stop. He turned and began to run. One of the men pulled out a great big gun and fired twice. The first bullet didn't hit Rudy, but the second did and my cousin fell.

ACCUSES HIS COUSIN

"Rudy fixed up the whole plot and I didn't know a thing about it except that he was going to get money. I hadn't any idea how he intended to get it. I didn't know anything about Mr. Grossfeld and did not hear his name until afterward, when they told me."

Mr. Grossfeld, the object of the boy's plot, is a member of the wholesale grocery firm of Grossfeld & Roe, 185 West Randolph Street, and lives at 42 St. James Place. Berendt lived at 344 North Lincoln Street.

In spite of young Haase's denial, the police think that he telephoned threats to the Grossfeld home. They had the boy talk to Mrs. Grossfeld over the telephone and she told Inspector Healy that she believed his was the same voice she heard on Wednesday.

The Berendt boy was mortally wounded by the detective's bullet, and

although he was hurried to Passevante Hospital and an operation performed, he died an hour later.

TEXT OF "BLACK-HAND" LETTER

The shooting of Berendt was the culmination of a plot to extort money from Mr. Grossfeld which had been going on since June 15. On that date Mr. Grossfeld received a letter demanding \$15,000 and ordering him to leave it at the place where the shooting took place last night.

The letter follows:

"Mr. Grossfeld: Have \$15,000 ready for us by Wednesday, June 16, 1909. We are the famous outlaw gang known all over the world. The famous Black Hand Death League. We want the money and we don't want no tricks played. For one sign of trickery we will send you and your wife to Hades. Maybe you are one of those bad guys who says I'll put this in the hands of the police. But we'll trace you and your family all over hell if you let anybody know about this.

MAKE TORTURE THREAT

"We want you to be at Grand Avenue and Desplaines Street Wednesday night between 8:00 P.M. and 8:15 P.M. all by yourself and have money wrapped in paper good and tight. No checks, only bills. About twenty \$100 bills and all the rest 20, 10, and 5 dollar bills. Remember one sign of treachery and you and yours go to hell. Be at Grand Avenue and Desplaines between 8:00 and 8:15 P.M. Be all by yourself because if there is any coppers or detectives around we blow off your head. We wont harm you one bit if you are all alone, see.

"One of our gang will come along at a given time and then he will just take the money out of your hand and walk away and you can walk away. But if you have got any coppers posted around, you want to remember that we have men posted around too. If you fail to be there with the money we will trap you and yours and torture you to death. Or if you play any kind of trick, we will capture you and blow up your house.

(Signed) "BLACKHAND GANG
"CAPTAIN GIOVANNI"

[There follow photographs, pictures, diagrams, with the following description attached:]

Actors in Blackmailing Tragedy, Death Note, and Pictures, Story

The photograph at the upper left is of Rudolph Berendt, the boy killed while he was trying to extort \$15,000 from S. E. Grossfeld. Just below is a photograph of Alfred Haase, the Berendt boy's cousin, who was arrested. At the lower left is a snapshot by a Chicago ~~staff~~ staff photographer of Detective Weinrich who fired the fatal shot. The portrait at the right is of Grossfeld and below is a facsimile of the death-threat letter he re-

ceived. The sketches give a picture of the plot and tragedy. The diagram gives an idea of how the shooting occurred.

A significant fact in connection with this newspaper story which is proved to have incited two boys to crime is that the crime described in it is also stated to have been incited by the reading of accounts of similar crimes in cheap novels.⁵

In two other cases the person to whom the confessions were made does not state whether the acts were based upon one or a series of accounts of similar acts. The following are accounts of the cases as sent in. The writer⁶ says,

I have had many cases since I have been here where the girls have frankly owned that the things they did were suggested to them by the newspapers. . . .

We had one case of horse-stealing by a girl, who thought she could take a horse away and sell it, and so go on making money along that line. Of course she was arrested and finally sent to this institution. . . . Another case that comes very vividly to my mind while writing this letter is the one who blackmailed the David Cook Publishing Co., of Elgin, and this girl too was arrested and sent here. She told me she never thought of doing such a thing until she read in the newspapers where men had been successfully blackmailed by other men, and she did not understand why she could not make money that way as well as men. This was the thing she proceeded to do, but of course bungled in her operations, was arrested, had her trial, and was sent to us.

In two other cases also it is not stated whether one or a series of newspaper accounts was the source of the suggestion, but it is clear from the description of the cases that a number of newspaper suggestions had entered into the planning of the act. These cases were described as follows:

Leroy Monohon of Bloomington, Indiana, a boy of 14 years, robbed the money drawer of the Kahn Clothing Co. in this city about the middle of last December. He was employed in the store to do chores, and, watching a chance, he broke open a money drawer, took between \$40 and \$50, and immediately went to Indianapolis, about fifty miles. On being returned and questioned in the Juvenile Court, he said he had read in the papers about

⁵ See *Chicago Tribune*, June 24, 1909. See also a discussion of newspaper influence on the increase of Black Hand atrocities in "How the United States Fosters the Black Hand," by F. M. White, in *Outlook*, XCIII, 495.

⁶ Ophelia L. Amigh, superintendent State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Ill.

such being done and thought he could do it the same way. He was convicted on a plea of guilty on December 18, 1909, and sent to Indiana Boys' School at Plainfield, Indiana. He could not tell the newspaper he had read. His clothes were poor and his shoes so ragged that they could scarcely stay on his feet. When asked why he had not bought shoes with the money, he said that he had read that the first things detectives looked at was to see if you had bought anything new to wear.⁷

At least two suggestions came from the newspaper in the above case, that of taking the money and also that of avoiding detection by not buying anything new to wear.] Another person describing this same case adds that he bought an "outfit" and got ready to buy whiskers and a wig with which to disguise himself.] Whether this, too, was the result of newspaper suggestion is not known.

The second case spoken of is the following:

The offense committed was a theft of money in different sums, amounting to a total of \$381.00, the largest amount being \$250.00. The thefts were made under various circumstances, including forcible entrance to a place of business, concealing himself in place of business and robbing money drawer, seeing the proprietor leave money in an open safe and stealing it in his absence, etc. The boy, who was thirteen years and nine months of age at the time of his commitment to us, told me that he got the idea of stealing from accounts in newspapers, and was specially encouraged by the accounts of thefts where the person committing them had escaped punishment. The boy was committed to this school by the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, on December 9, 1909.

The information in regard to the suggestion, as given above, came from the boy himself, voluntarily, and I have no reason to doubt his statement.⁸

In one case, in which the paper or papers from which the suggestions were obtained is not known, the accounts were those of the Thaw trial⁹ as they appeared in the Chicago newspapers. This case was mentioned in chap. iii as an example of a fixed idea produced by suggestion. It follows:

A girl of about fifteen was brought into the Juvenile Court of Chicago for some offense, and when asked her name gave it as Evelyn Thaw. She

⁷ J. B. Wilson, judge Nineteenth Judicial Circuit, Bloomington, Ind.

⁸ O. E. Darnall, superintendent of the National Training School for Boys, Washington, D.C.

⁹ Judge Lindsey characterizes the reports of this trial as having had more influence in causing crime than the reports of any other one case.

was told that this could not be her name, but she persisted, until after some time she confessed that she had read the accounts of the Thaw trial in the papers, had been much impressed by the descriptions, etc., of Evelyn Thaw, had finally come to believe herself Evelyn Thaw, and had tried to have her experiences. She had taken much pains to dress in exact imitation of the descriptions of her in the papers, copying the simple schoolgirl dress, broad collar and bow, and peach-basket hat.

Two other cases are described by Judge Lindsey as follows:

I know a number of such cases. I know some boys who read of the "Black Hand" and their methods, who sought to imitate them and got themselves into serious trouble.

Another boy of 18 threatened to blow up the house of a millionaire, because he had read in the newspaper here of such threats by a band of thieves, unless money demanded was forthcoming.

I think every Juvenile Court has such experiences, but the detailed cases are not always easy to remember.

2. The following is the second class of evidence consisting of statements that the writers have had confessions of newspaper suggestion to anti-social acts. Miss Amigh, superintendent of the State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois, writes:

I have had many cases since I have been here where the girls frankly owned to me that the things they did were suggested to them by reading the newspapers (January 29, 1909).

Mr. John H. Witter, chief probation officer of the Chicago Juvenile Court, writes:

In answer to the first question I will state that we have the record of but one case where the children in the Juvenile Court stated that they got their suggestion from the newspapers. There no doubt have been more than this number, but, in listening to the cases in the Juvenile Court, this is the only one in which the evidence has brought this out (February 21, 1910).

Mr. O. E. Darnall, superintendent of the National Training School for Boys, Washington, D.C., writes:

.... Will state that I, at this moment, can cite you but a single instance, although I have, from time to time, heard boys say that such suggestions came as a result of newspaper or other accounts of wrongdoing. I have often thought that I would make a specific note of such instances, but have not done so (March 9, 1910).

✓ The *Daily Reflector* for Saturday, December 12, 1908, the paper published by the inmates of the Indiana Reformatory,

at Jeffersonville, Indiana, contained answers to questions sent to the inmates. Among the questions was, "What are some of the causes which lead a boy to crime?" Out of seven answers, three referred to causes as follows:

The reading of trashy literature and yellow journals, which exploit crime and criminals, and the apparent ease with which they accomplish their nefarious undertakings, always omitting the heart aches, contributes to crime.¹⁰

. . . . Truancy from school and church, roaming the streets at night with rowdy companions, reading blood-and-thunder literature, visiting cheap theaters, and smoking cigarettes. . . .¹¹

. . . . Evil associates, natural or inherited tendencies, an uncontrollable temper, dime novels, lack of home-training of the proper sort, parental carelessness, unattractive homes, and, the worst of all, drink and bad women.¹²

Mr. E. E. Gardner, superintendent of the Sockanasset School for Boys, Howard, Rhode Island, writes:

Would say that we find that sensational reading matter often has a bad influence upon the boy. For instance, it is a common thing to read about a boy who, from the reading of cheap dime novels, is led to load himself with fire-arms and start for the West, getting perhaps as far as the next city. We have read of and seen boys of weak mind who have been led to set fires by reading accounts of same in newspapers, etc. (March 14, 1910).

Mr. Will Stuart Wilson, chief probation officer of the Juvenile Court, County of Yuba, California, writes:

In numerous cases the confession was given to me personally and in others it came second-hand, but thoroughly reliable. . . . The newspapers responsible are all our local and the San Francisco press. . . . All of them play up the dark and seamy side and thus help in the degeneracy of the child.

Mr. J. M. Glover, juvenile probation officer of Atlanta, Georgia, writes:

During my six years' experience as Juvenile Probation Officer for the city of Atlanta, Georgia, I have known some few boys who said the reason why they committed certain crimes was because they had read of similar things in the newspapers; but I didn't think so, and paid but little attention to the matter (February 18, 1910).

3. The third class of cases, dealing with instances of anti-social suggestion by newspapers, described in the newspapers

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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themselves, are illustrated by the following clippings. The first is a case attributed to the reading of accounts of matters connected with the Thaw case. The clipping follows:

MIND UNBALANCED BY THAW CASE

His mind unbalanced by reading accounts of the fight Harry Thaw is making to get out of Matteawan Insane Asylum, Edward Cordin, a bookkeeper, 37 years old, who lives at 467 Grand Street, Williamsburg, was taken today to the observation ward of Kings County Hospital after he had wrecked his home and frightened tenants of the house. Cordin's wife and two children are in the country, as it is feared he would kill them. According to Cordin's friends, he followed closely the troubles of Thaw. Since the day Thaw killed Stanford White the bookkeeper read accounts of the trials and subsequent committal of Thaw to Matteawan.

Cordin declared to friends that Thaw was "railroaded" and not given a "square deal." When Thaw began his fight to get out of the asylum Cordin followed the court proceedings each day. He became greatly excited and when matters went against Thaw, about two months ago, he acted so queerly it was decided to place a watch over the man. He threatened to kill his wife and children, and Cordin was committed to the observation ward in the Kings County Hospital.

Cordin was discharged two weeks ago and started to interest himself again in Thaw's case. He declared Thaw's enemies were trying to keep him in the asylum and became so wild in his talk that his wife took their children and went to the country.

Another is a case in which a young actor was apparently led by reading the accounts of the Steinheil trial to offer himself as the murderer of Mme. Steinheil's husband.

As on the opening day of the case, all Paris was wrought to a high tension over the promised disclosures, and although it was known that but few could pass within the precincts of the court, hundreds remained outside to watch and to discuss in excited tones the progress of the case as it came to them through the newspaper extras that flooded the streets.

Mme. Steinheil, dressed in a mourning gown, was a dramatic though pathetic figure, fighting hard for life. And in the midst of her inquisition by the presiding judge, her attorney, M. Aubin, with melodramatic effect, suddenly pushed to the forefront a man who, he said, wished to confess that he had taken part in the murders of which Mme. Steinheil was charged.

M. Aubin read a letter signed "Jean Lefevre," asking that the writer be permitted to confess, and then he pointed at a man and said:

"This is Jean Lefevre."

Mme. Steinheil gazed at him wearily and after he had made a rambling

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statement in which he said that, disguised as a woman and wearing a wig of red hair, he had helped to commit the murders, she declared that she could not identify him as one of the murderers whom she previously had described.

The presiding judge promptly ordered Lefevre's arrest and an investigation of his statement, and warned the jury that this might prove to be another attempt to baffle justice.

The police from the start were inclined to believe that the man's self-accusation belonged in the category of incidents well known to criminologists, where an individual half demented by the reading of the case and possibly fancying himself in love with the prisoner, has resolved to sacrifice himself for a fascinating woman. Lefevre's description of the crime coincided with the original version upon which Mme. Steinheil now insists.

The police theory was vindicated when on further examination before a magistrate Lefevre said that his name was Rene Collard, and that he was an actor. He admitted that he had not the slightest connection with the crime and had merely acted on a chivalrous impulse to save Mme. Steinheil, of whose innocence he was convinced. He was ordered detained pending verification of his identity.

Still another case is that of a girl who was led to commit suicide, supposedly through reading accounts of suicides in the daily papers. The clipping is as follows:

YORK, PA., October 31.—[Special]—Miss May Fackler, of this city, a sister of Dr. L. H. Fackler, ended her life today by inhaling illuminating gas. Miss Fackler was visiting at the home of Dr. F. J. Snyder and this afternoon appeared to be in a jovial frame of mind. Dr. and Mrs. Snyder left the house for several hours and when they returned they detected the odor of gas. Going to the bathroom they found the door locked, and, forcing it open, the body of Miss Fackler was found upon the floor with a gas tube in her mouth. (The reading of the many suicides that have occurred in this county recently is believed to have temporarily unbalanced Miss Fackler's mind and caused her to commit suicide.)

Another case is that of a man who committed suicide with the newspaper account of recent suicides and murders before him.

READS CRIME; TRIES TO DIE

With a newspaper in front of him telling of recent suicides and murders, J. D. Fishpaw, 39, 5115 Euclid Avenue, penned a note to his wife and then, shooting himself through the chest, calmly walked downstairs and told the landlady what he had done. A moment later he fell to the floor unconscious.

Fishpaw is a blacksmith, working for W. S. Taylor, 5106 Euclid Avenue.

It is said that he left his wife two months ago. Boarders at the house say that the many recent murders and suicides seemed to have made him morbid and he talked about them a great deal, often threatening to take his own life. The note which he left for his wife told of his love for her and of the impossibility of living without her.)

Mrs. M. Walker, keeper of the boarding house where Fishpaw was stopping, met Fishpaw coming downstairs. His shirt was soaked with blood and he was holding his hand over the wound.

"I have shot myself," was all he said. The next instant he fell unconscious at her feet.

Still another is that of a woman who killed her son after reading of the Melber trial:

POTTSVILLE, PA., March 21.—Mrs. Benjamin J. Granger, insane, killed her only son, John Edward, 7, today. Her mind had been inflamed by reading of Mrs. Edith Melber's trial at Albany for the murder of her son. This afternoon, when her son returned from school, the mother led him to a lonely grove. She bound his hands and feet with ropes and gagged him with a handkerchief. Then, with a razor she cut his throat.

Instead of seeking to escape, Mrs. Granger, a terrifying spectacle, ran to a schoolhouse. Uttering maniacal shrieks and brandishing her weapon, she rushed up and down the street terrifying several hundred children.

These are types of a great many such statements appearing in the newspapers themselves, and they serve to illustrate the general conviction that newspaper accounts of anti-social activities have such anti-social results. They also serve to illustrate the naïve acceptance of the fact by the newspapers themselves in the process of recording the daily news.

4. The fourth class of evidence here offered consists of the opinions of experts in close connection with criminals and other offenders. A number of such opinions follow:

I have your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply I have to say that I do not know of any persons who have received the idea of committing crime or an abnormal act from the newspapers. I am satisfied, however, that the report of crimes and misdemeanors by the newspapers has a very bad effect upon people generally in this respect. I also think that the nickel theaters have a very deleterious effect upon children because of the character of the scenes depicted.¹⁹

I am not able to mention any specific case where a crime or immoral act has been committed as a result of newspaper stories of crime or immoral

¹⁹ F. C. Platt, district judge, Black Hawk County, Iowa.

more to spread whatever harm there may be in *Salome* among their 2,000,000 readers than Mary Garden has done or ever will do by singing this opera in French to audiences of 3,000.—JOSEPH MEDILL PATTERSON.

5. As has previously been indicated, a type of suggestion precisely analogous to that in the case of the newspapers takes place in connection with the reading of novels. The clippings from the daily press illustrate this fact. The first account is that of a Denver boy, and is as follows:

BOY TRIES TO RIVAL DIME NOVEL HEROES

The absorption of a yellow-backed novel each day is thought to have been responsible for 16-year-old Bert Barnett running away from his home at 1778 Lowell street several days ago and then writing a threatening letter to a man who had befriended him by taking him to his home.

After making his home for several days with the Espings the boy left early yesterday morning after writing a note in which he declared himself to be a criminal of the worst type.

The note follows:

"Dear Friends: I am ever so much obliged for your kindness to me. My home is nowhere. I am an outcast. I make my living this way.

"I am a criminal of the worst type but I cannot rob you because you have befriended me, and an Indian, for I am a quarter-breed Indian and a quarter Mexican, and I never forget a kindness, but when I hate I hate to the end.

"I am going away but I will not forget right or wrong. I have no parents or relatives, or ever did have, for I disowned them and they disowned me. I hate everybody. I hate you and the squire, but Lulu and William I feel kindly toward them, for they are the best.

"I am helping myself to a cigar.

"Man is the weakest being or animal on this earth. Woman is the best. May the God of your worship bless you all.

UNKNOWN

"I do not wish to work. I am a murderer, a thief, robber, a rogue, and an all-around fiend. Do not tell this. Burn this letter or die."

The boy was released by the police last night and turned over to his father, J. R. Barnett, a carpenter, living at 1778 Lowell Street.

Another is the account of a Kansas boy who had read of the exploits of Harry Tracy.

TRACY, THE BANDIT, WAS HIS HERO

LAWRENCE, KAS., Nov. 15.—"Earl Bullock was imitating Tracy, the bandit, and considered him the greatest hero who ever lived," said Willie

McKay, the 15-year-old companion of Bullock, today. Bullock killed himself when about to be captured after an attempt to rob a bank at Eudora.

"Bullock was always reading a book about 'Tracy, the Bandit,' and got his ideas from it. Just before we reached Memphis on our way to Kansas he read something about Tracy being surrounded in a cornfield and how the bandit put his revolver to his head and blew out his brains. He was awfully excited and said: 'Wasn't that grand? That's the way to die.' He told me he did not expect to live to be 21 years old, but wanted to become famous before he died."

A third is the account of a gang of boys in Cleveland:

RAID BOY CAVE DWELLERS

Police of the thirteenth precinct raided a cave dug in the bank of Dugway Brook near Parkwood Drive N.E. The result of their haul was fourteen boys all under 15 years of age, a Winchester rifle, several air rifles, a small revolver, and a whole library of dime novels.

The raid was the result of a complaint of a man who ran excitedly into the police station and reported that he had been shot at as he was walking on Parkwood Drive.

A squad of patrolmen, believing that they had discovered the trail of robbers, searched the vicinity until they found the hole in the embankment.

The fourteen boys were calmly playing cards and smoking cigarettes when the police rushed them. They disclaimed any desire to kill anyone and said that they were only shooting for fun. They will appear in juvenile court today.

The following clipping describes the effect of American dime novels on German boys:

DIME NOVELS HURT GERMANY

• BERLIN, Aug. 27.—German translations of the volumes describing Nick Carter's desperate and daring exploits have exercised such a pernicious influence on German youths throughout the empire that serious measures are about to be adopted to prevent the circulation of all similar American and English works.

A new society, "The Club of Respectables," has been formed by a clergyman, its members being booksellers who refuse to seek or keep in stock any of the gaudily bound books with thrilling frontispieces describing the adventures of the dashing Nick.

A list of the firms which have become members of the society is to be sent throughout Germany to all book-buying customers, with an appeal for the support of the houses refusing to demoralize Germany's youth with such depraved literature. The firms not joining the club are to be boycotted. This move, it is hoped, will stem the flood of literary trash that has inundated Germany from the United States and England.

In this connection the police authorities have much to say. One of the leading criminal judges in Berlin states that juvenile crime is greatly on the increase and attributes this mainly to the sensational "5-cent shockers" imported from abroad.

Numbers of youths in the metropolis have formed themselves in bands, some of which live in "robbers'" caves in the forests surrounding Berlin. Raids are made periodically by these gangs and many shops and houses are broken into. Organized street troops, under the name of "German Nick Carters," are equipped with revolvers and knives and frequent the lower quarters of Berlin. In almost all cases the lads are known to be impelled to enter on the path of crime by perusal of "Nick Carter" and similar stories.

The paragraph which follows appeared soon after the profuse and detailed accounts of the Elsie Sigel murder in New York, perpetrated by a Chinaman. It illustrates the tendency which such detailed newspaper accounts have to awaken an abnormal and dangerous curiosity.

GIRLS FLOCK TO SEE "SIGHTS"

Chinatown these nights is crowded with parties of young girls, some of them escorted by boys. A party of six girls attired in their Sunday clothes appeared in Pell Street about 10 o'clock tonight. At first they were content to wander through the little streets and watch the Bowery girls enter dance halls on the arms of sailors and soldiers.

Finally, however, the leader of the six approached a policeman at Dover and Pell streets, and asked how much it would cost to hire a guide. The policeman told them. It was evidently more than they could afford.

Then one asked: "Where can we see something really interesting—some of the things in Chinatown we have heard about?"

The policeman who has seen all that is "really interesting" in Chinatown answered that there were no such things as they had heard about and they went away disappointed.

The following account, though somewhat colored, shows an unusual conception on the part of the reporter of the suggestive influence of reading matter. It is the story of how a Slavic girl killed her girl companion through jealousy of a man with whom her companion had fallen in love. As here told, the story might easily become the medium of anti-social suggestion to someone else.

SHOOTS HER CHUM BECAUSE OF LOVE.....MIND FED ON CLASSICS

"Whatever lives, lives to die in sorrow. We engage our hearts and grasp after the things of this world, only to undergo the pang of losing them."

With this bitter philosophy from Schiller's drama, "The Robbers," and other weird ideas of love and life and death from Hamlet and Sappho fixed in her morbid mind by a terrible night of reading and reflection, a girl laid the three volumes aside on the coverlet of her bed, left her room in a west side tenement yesterday morning, and hurried to the home of her dearest friend, there to end by attempted murder and suicide a real drama of love and friendship, of socialism and anarchy, of sweatshop bondage, and high aspirations, of two women and one man.

Not the ordinary story of the love of two women for a man was this in which Anna Rabinovitch, child of the Russian Revolution and daughter of the Ghetto, played the principal part. The young suicide attempted to kill her girl friend through jealousy of the man in the case, through a determination that this girl whom she loved should never be separated from her.

But in spite of her determination, in spite of the steady aim which sent a bullet through the breast of Bertha Yablonsky and into the wall behind, she failed. Just before she died from a self-inflicted bullet wound at the county hospital the man in the case, her rival for the friendship of Miss Yablonsky, sat at the latter's bedside and received the assurance of a physician that in spite of a bullet hole through her chest Miss Yablonsky would live.

A small dark inner room on the third floor of a dingy tenement at Laffin and West Thirteenth streets was the home of the dead girl and the scene of most of the acts in the tragedy. Here the two girls, both recent immigrants from Russia, both employed in the same garment-maker's shop, both pretty and just out of their teens, met to discuss socialism, anarchy, history, literature, "the revolution," and similar subjects. Here Bernard Kamenetzky, who lodged in the same tenement, joined them, and, according to the dying statement of the suicide, brought love into the "group" and came between two friends.

And yesterday, in the room just as she left them, lay the books which Miss Rabinovitch had spent the night in reading—the Hamlet, in English, and worn to fragments; Sappho, by Alphonse Daudet, in French, paper bound; and a volume of Schiller's works, in German, opened at the drama, "The Robbers," and likewise thumbed from end to end. On a small table beside her bed were Dickens' "Child's History of England"; "The Evolution of Man," by Wilhelm Bölsche; a fifth reader; German, English, and French dictionaries; "An Appeal to the Young," by Prince Peter Kropotkin; and many books in Russian, most of them on socialism.

This was the mental food on which the mind of the immigrant sweatshop worker was fed. And, if the open books beside the pillow meant any-

thing, these were the stimulants which nerved her for the commission of her crime.

A short note, her books, and this dying statement were all she left to show the workings of her mind and the motives for the crime:

"I held her love until that young man came between us. I had full control over her. She loved me and I loved her. But when she began going with him she changed. He got control over her and she loved him. I do not regret what I did."

The note found in her bosom read:

"For the police: Bury me without any ceremony. I want you not to disturb any of my friends or relatives. My body, if possible, should be burned; at any rate, not used for anatomy.

ANNA RABIN, 715 West Thirteenth Street

"P.S.—I have no desire to give you any information about this suicide."

But more illuminating than note or dying statement was the simple tale of the girl's life and a glance at her books.

From Russia she came two years ago, speaking and reading French, German, Yiddish, and Russian, and enthusiastically socialistic and revolutionary. Shortly after arriving in this country her father committed suicide and her mother married again. In the shop where she worked as a "finisher" of clothing at \$7 a week, the girl, who knew classics of three languages in the original, met another Russian immigrant, Bertha Yablonsky, who had preceded her to America by one year.

They lived within a block of each other and a deep attachment sprang up between them. The Rabinovitch girl, though the same age, was a born leader, and her tiny room, dark, bare, and unventilated, was the meeting place for a group of socialist young men and women. Debates were held and history, literature, and economics studied. The theories of the anarchist Prince Kropotkin and the socialist Marx were compared and discussed. The lax materialistic morality of French novelists was considered by these highly educated \$7-a-week girls and men in their stuffy tenement room.

And Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller mystically told them:

"Egotism erects its center in itself: love places it outside of itself in the axis of the universal whole. Love gives, egotism lends; and love does this before the throne of judicial truth, indifferent if for the enjoyment of the following moment, or with a view to the martyr's crown—indifferent whether the reward is in this life or the next."

He also told them "Death is only kind to mortals."

Bakunin told them that all law was wrong, that each should be free to act without any restraint.

Into the mind of the "finisher" whirling with all these theories of existence came hate and jealousy. She read "The Robbers." It told her:

"The man who fears nothing is as powerful as he who is feared by everybody."

She borrowed \$5 from her friend and, it is believed, with this money bought a revolver. Saturday she told her landlady that she was "going away tomorrow."

"Where?" she was asked.

"O! to New York," she replied carelessly.

"Why, it costs more to live and wages are not so high in New York," the motherly woman remonstrated.

"I am not going away to make money," she replied; and refused to discuss the matter further.

She arose before 6 o'clock in the morning and hurried to the home of her friend, who lived with relatives at 537 Winchester Avenue. The family was asleep, but the mother admitted her to the room where Bertha was sleeping with her cousin Julia, 10 years old. The family heard the two talking in ordinary conversational tones for about five minutes.

Suddenly two shots were heard. Little Julia, suddenly awakened and terrified, ran shrieking from the room. Each bullet had gone through the chest, but both girls were conscious. Dr. J. A. Whipple and Dr. R. Miriam Yampolsky, the latter noted as the close friend of Emma Goldman, were summoned. Bertha soon lost consciousness, but Anna was conscious and composed until shortly before her death late in the afternoon. It is thought Bertha will recover, but it will be at least a week before she will be able to give out a statement.

And all afternoon Kamenetzky sat at the bedside of the wounded girl and tried to soothe her ravings, undisturbed in his watch by the scores of relatives and friends who crowded the remainder of the little apartment. He would not talk of the tragedy.

In addition there are a number of examples of anti-social suggestion from both newspapers and general literature which have been noted by writers on criminology.²¹ Proal, in discussing the increase in crime, especially among young people, says:

If few peasants kill themselves as a result of disappointed love, it is because they read few novels. If, on the other hand, these suicides are more frequent among the industrial classes, or among the higher classes, it is in consequence of the reading of novels or the presentation of dramas which call it to their attention. It is well known that the publication of *Werther* was followed by a veritable epidemic of suicide. Recently at Aix, a young man and girl, crossed in love by their relatives, killed themselves; and on the table in the young man's room was found a picture representing a double suicide of the same kind.

²¹ Particularly Proal and Sighèle.

Unwholesome reading has an immense effect upon young men, because they are very prone to imitate heroes of the novel or the theater, especially when the book or drama makes vice attractive. Physicians who take account of the influence of good and bad examples do not wish the picture of moral infirmities, of suicides, and of crimes to be given in the daily papers, and they are alarmed at the danger which this publicity has for the feeble and the sick who exist in society . . . for young men and nervous women. Details of the execution of suicides and of crimes strike the imagination and can awaken the spirit of imitation. . . . I have observed that especially in cases of assassination, infanticide, abortion, and of perjury the accused base the execution of the crime frequently upon the account of similar crimes. I believe that accounts of crime should appear only in legal papers. It is a bad thing for young men and women to find every day unwholesome images and excitations in the accounts of vice and crime detailed in the columns of the daily papers.²²

Similarly Sighèle has made a study of anti-social suggestion from novels, dramas, and newspapers. His very significant chapter on "La suggestion littéraire"²³ abounds in actual cases of suicides and crimes proved to have been suggested by the reading of certain well-known novels and romances. He says:

Who can ignore the profound impression which the *Werther* of Goethe, the *Jacopo d'Ortis* of Fascalò, the *René* of Chateaubriand have made upon passionate natures? And who can deny the epidemic of suicides for which there was not the least cause?²⁴

In the chapter on "La littérature autour des grandes procès," in which he discusses the influence of the press, he has the following cases, subsequent to the one cited in chap. iii above:

In France, in 1884, the trial of Mercier, the murderer of an old man whose body was cast into a well, was being discussed; and in the room of Euphrasée Mercier, to whom the chief guilt was attached, was found a copy of the *Figaro*, in which there was the account of a crime celebrated in the judicial annals of Romagne, committed by a man named Faella who had killed a priest, Cata, and had hidden the body in the well of one of his country houses. The Mercier family, in a French village, had likewise killed a man in the identical way in which this Faella had killed a priest, whom he hated, in Romagne. At such a distance of time and space the paper had spread, if not the idea of the crime, at least the example of the means of accomplishing it.

²² *Le crime et la peine*, 214.

²³ Cf. *Littérature et criminalité* (Paris, Giard et Brière, 1908; translation from the Italian).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 163.

- This is one of the class of cases discussed in chap. iii in which an exact resemblance is noticed between a newspaper account and a suggested act. In this case the evidence was completed by the presence of a copy of the paper containing the account of the imitated crime in the murderer's room.

Likewise the press has been responsible in large part for the epidemics of crime committed by women with revolvers and vitriol in Paris from 1880 to 1890, crimes by means of which jealous women and deceived mistresses took revenge upon their husbands or unfaithful lovers. It was Clotilde Andral who set the example of this cruel *amour au vitriol*. It was the pretty Marie Brière who gave the example of *l'amour au revolver*, and in a short time—thanks to the journals which described these pretty homicides by the most charming adjectives and almost made heroines of them—this ferocious crime of passion became the fashion, disturbing not only the little heads of the “demi-mondaines,” but even the proud and spirited character of Mme. Clovis Hugues, the wife of the well-known and genial writer.²⁵

There are other analogous sources of anti-social suggestion besides those already mentioned, in connection with which attempts at social control have been and are being made. The agitation for censorship of moving pictures in this country since 1908-9 is based on the conviction that there is a marked anti-social suggestive effect proceeding from these pictures. The censorship of certain plays and dances²⁶ and of bill-board representations²⁷ is based upon the same principle. The agitation against the moving-picture exhibits of the Jeffries-Johnson fight initiated by Major Sylvester, superintendent of police, Washington, D.C., taken up by the Christian Endeavor Societies and by ministers, and carried out by progressive governors, mayors, and chiefs of police all over the United States, as well as by foreign officials, as in Germany, is another example of action taken because of the conviction that publicity given to this type of activity has an anti-social effect. The

²⁵ Sighèle, *op. cit.*, 210, 211.

²⁶ The Salome dance has been prohibited in the burlesque theaters in Chicago since the latter part of 1909, and a play at the Cort Theater, entitled *Get Busy with Emily*, was forbidden and characterized as immoral and suggestive by Judge Scanlan's court in Chicago, May, 1910.

²⁷ Those in connection with *The Girl from Rector's* (1909) and *Get Busy with Emily* (1910) were suppressed in Chicago.

actual effects alleged in this case were incitement of race feeling and the establishment in the minds of young people of hero-worship for prize fighters. A communication from Major Sylvester, explaining his attitude, follows:

Replying to your communication of the 8th instant I beg leave to state that in the southern cities, where the social conditions are very nearly equally divided, race feeling prevails, which, as the recent newspaper publications will inform you, developed into serious trouble in some localities between the whites and blacks, but my argument, from the police standpoint, is that anything unnecessary, which tends to make trouble, should be avoided, if it is possible to do so.

So far as the exhibition of pictures is concerned, I might state that cases have come under my observation where young boys, excited and enthused over Indian fights, have left their homes fully armed and equipped, intending to go West for similar purposes.

Billboards depicting such scenes have a like effect on the undeveloped mind.

The newspapers played an important, though questionable, part in the agitation concerning this prize fight. For months before the fight they stimulated interest in it by giving much space to discussion of details connected with it. Finally, in the same issues in which they discussed the motives back of it in a more or less derogatory manner and in many cases upheld the agitation against the moving pictures, they published columns of reading-matter entering into the most sensational details of the fight and of the dissipation and immorality in Reno in connection with it. They also went so far as to publish some of the pictures, sometimes covering a whole page, at the same time that they commented on or denounced the presentation of them as moving pictures. The mayor of New York is reported by the daily press to have declared that he could not consistently urge the suppression of the fight pictures in the moving-picture shows so long as the newspapers were allowed to publish them, a statement which did not seem to disturb the press.

The following clipping is an editorial which appeared in a newspaper of July 19, 1910, indicating the anti-social suggestive power of moving-picture films.

CENSORING THE FILMS

The power of the moving-picture show, whether for good or for evil, has become a vital issue all over the country. The activity of the censor is spreading. The chief danger from the film is not that the vicious shall be sent to crime, but that the empty shall be filled with the wrong thing. It is hard to realize in what a state of mental passivity, even mental vacuity, many of the moving-picture patrons go to the theater. Suggestion has completely its own way with them.

A certain little Annie, in Philadelphia, wept when she saw the moving-picture heroine, deserted by her lover, commit suicide. She felt sure her own "steady" would never desert her in that way. She came out of the theater to encounter the young man in company with another girl. A few moments later she had taken carbolic acid.

A certain little Ethel, in New York, aged 12, encountered arson and blackmail in the picture films. She posted an anonymous demand for \$50 on her father's door, and a few minutes later set the place on fire.

This is the type, with a nickel in its hand and nothing in its mind, that the censorship must consider. The soil being receptive and fertile, the seed must not be of the wrong kind.

A second clipping from the same paper for October 15, 1910, states the action and the reasons for the action of the International Humane Congress regarding moving pictures, etc.

THE FILMS AND THE CHILDREN

The International Humane Congress, now in session at Washington, has added its weight to the movement for the reform of the cheap theater and the moving picture. The congress, after taking a stand for better fire protection and better ventilation, calls for a strict censorship to eliminate vicious and immoral pictures and for the exclusion of children unless accompanied by adults. The child, in fact, is made the chief concern—rightly enough, in view of the growing preponderance of juvenile patronage. The congress, looking upon the improper picture as essentially an offense against childhood, would have offending proprietors or managers brought for trial before the juvenile courts.

A more definite step has been taken in New York, where an official board of censors is expected soon to supersede the unofficial body which, for the past year, has been doing such good service. The proposed new board will consist of three aldermen. They will have full power to decide upon the suitability of films offered for exhibit and to enforce their decisions—an advantage which the earlier body did not possess.

It is gratifying to know that the new board of censors has the approval of the moving-picture men. These latter have very little to lose by a general

censorship and very much to gain. A supervision exercised at the source—at the studio itself, or, better, over the “scenario”—would, in the end, be a great advantage all around.

These are arguments, however, which apply in like manner to the publication of such details in the newspapers, as similar cases of anti-social suggestion from the press, cited above, indicate. It is interesting, however, to read such an opinion on the editorial page of a newspaper.

6. A large class of epidemics of various sorts—suicide, bank and highway robbery, kidnapping, “black hand,” etc.—have been ascribed to newspaper suggestion in this country and abroad. Instances of this type occurring in foreign countries were cited in the section above from Sighèle and Proal. An unusually large number of suicides occurring in Des Moines in 1907–8 is believed to have been largely due to newspaper suggestion. The Pat Crowe kidnaping incident in Omaha of about the same time was followed by an epidemic of kidnaping in Omaha and in other places. Similarly the kidnaping of Willie Whitla in Sharon, Pennsylvania, in 1908, which was recounted in great detail in the newspapers of the country, was closely followed by many others. The “Black Hand” epidemic of 1908–9 has been attributed to the same cause.²⁸

While it is not possible in a study of this sort, with the facilities now available for collecting facts of this kind, to verify the impression that these particular epidemics are the result of newspaper suggestion, the indirect and direct evidence, though somewhat scattered as yet, is so considerable as to give a pretty general conviction that such is the case.

As examples, in addition to those given above, of how the suggestion works in such cases, the following may be cited. The ————, on October 14, 1909, devoted one column on the first page, over five columns on the second page, and more than three columns on another page to an account of a bank robbery in Highland Park, a suburb of Chicago. In this case a stolen automobile figured conspicuously. Furthermore, every step in the process was described in detail by means of graphic

²⁸ Cf. *Lessons in Crime Fifty Cents a Month*, chap. II.

printed matter, illustration, map, and diagram. The account also contained a suggestion that the robber would probably have escaped if the automobile had not failed to move when he returned to it after completing the robbery. On November 13, one month later, the same paper contained a column account of a robbery committed in New Albany, Indiana (within the circulating area of the Chicago papers), in which the details were almost precisely similar and in which a stolen automobile again figured conspicuously. This second account stated in addition that the boy robber "read trashy novels of crime."

READ TRASHY NOVELS OF CRIME

At the home of Thomas Jefferson Hall, the young bandit, his aged father broke into tears and told of the boy's crime. He said his son had been an incorrigible for several years, and while he was an expert at his trade of cabinetmaking, he spent most of his time reading novels of the Diamond Dick series. He had become infatuated at first, he says, with Mark Twain's story of "Huckleberry Finn." At several periods during the last year he had attacked his father with threats of violence.

Mr. Hall said the family had removed here five months ago from Knoxville, Tenn. They first came to New Albany, where they opened up a store opposite the bank where the tragedy occurred. In Knoxville, he said, young Hall had several boy friends who also were imbued with the bandit spirit. With these boys his son was in constant communication.

Whether the reporter's sagacity or the city editor's pencil had anything to do with the failure of this account of the boy's fund of reading matter to include *newspaper accounts of crime* is not known.

The Gingles case, which occupied a great deal of space in the Chicago papers in the winter of 1908-9 and the spring following, was followed by a number of other cases in which young girls fabricated stories of incidents which were supposed to have happened to them.²⁹ The following clipping will serve to illustrate the general run of the cases, as well as their detailed similarity to the Gingles case:

LITTLE GIRL IN "KIDNAPING MYSTERY"

Louisa West, the fifteen-year-old girl who charged that she had been kidnaped at a revival meeting on the West Side and subjected to ill-treat-

²⁹ See daily papers of Chicago for March, 1909, for examples of such cases.

ment, was declared to be a romancer by her father, John West, 777 West Monroe Street.

West declared he believed the girl's story, which gave the police and elders of the Second Baptist Church a mystery rivaling the Gingles puzzle, was a fabrication.

"My daughter has told me many fanciful stories which upon investigation have been found not to have any truth in them," he said. . . .

The girl declared she had met in Madison Street a man who took her to a flat, locked her in the house, and held her a prisoner for more than a week. During that time she said she was mistreated by three men.

Miss Dora Byron, her Sunday-school teacher, to whom Louise told her experience, immediately informed her pastor. Dr. McLaurin told Captain P. D. O'Brien of the detective bureau, with the result that two detectives met the child when she appeared at the church last Sunday evening. She was given an opportunity to take the detectives to the supposed scene of her misfortunes, but was unable to do so, although she walked many blocks with them.

Incidentally, a volunteer "detective" who is a member of the church, was detailed by Dr. McLaurin to "shadow" the girl and learn what he could of her. His mission failed.

Then women from Hull House interested themselves in Louisa's behalf and, when convinced that her story was not true, they asked her to return to her home.

The Rigdon suicide and attempted murder, perpetrated in a down-town Chicago office about the middle of July, 1910, and described sensationally and copiously in the daily press, was followed closely by the incident described in the following clipping:

FIRES AT GIRL; SHOOTs SELF

After firing two shots at Miss Emma Bastyr and her escort while in the fruit store of Christ Loomis, 1758 South Center Avenue, Charles Noha, a woodworker, attempted to kill himself shortly after 9 o'clock last night by shooting himself in the left side of the head. He was taken to the County hospital, where he is said to be dying. . . .

The details, with the exception of the place, are strikingly similar.

The following clipping is an example of an epidemic, this time in Cleveland, attributed by the newspapers and others to suggestion through newspapers.

WAVE OF TRAGEDY TAKES DOC PAYNE. EIGHT DIE BY THEIR OWN HANDS AND FOUR ARE MURDERED IN CLEVELAND WITHIN TWO WEEKS. SUGGESTIVE POWER OF ONE TRAGIC EVENT OVER ANOTHER IS BLAMED BY SOME. MANY VICTIMS OF BULLETS AND POISON ENJOYED HIGH PLACES IN WORLD OF WEALTH AND INTELLECT. CLEVELAND CRIME RECORD

September 28.—"Doc" Payne, ex-Nap trainer and well-known boxer and wrestler, commits suicide by shooting himself, after having tried to kill his wife and mother-in-law. Woman supposed to be Catherine Dour of Newark, N.J., commits suicide at Hawley House by hanging herself with strap. D. Connelly killed in fist fight in Public Square saloon at 5:30 A.M. John Reynolds, a painter, commits suicide at home in Rosalind apartments, 1754 East Nineteenth Street, by taking cyanide of potassium.

September 25.—Donald Stubbs, prominent railroad man, found dying in office in Williamson building from self-inflicted wound. Expired September 27 at Lakeside Hospital.

September 24.—Mrs. Lawrence Distel kills her paramour, Paul O. Mueller, letter carrier, and then shoots herself, dying in her husband's arms.

September 22.—Bertram W. Yates, wealthy Detroitier, shoots Mrs. Ivan Singer in Rocky River cafe, but fails to kill. Commits suicide in county jail by hanging himself. Mrs. Salvator Pulee murdered in Italian district on Orange Avenue over trivial affair.

September 21.—Body of unidentified suicide is found in field near West Boulevard.

September 18.—Dr. Henry C. Ruetter, noted Columbus alienist, commits suicide in Cleveland.

September 15.—John Lanlaunfe murdered in Italian colony on Orange Avenue during dispute over \$1.

Tragedy upon tragedy following with kaleidoscopic rapidity and variety has shocked the law-abiding element of Cleveland during the past two weeks. The life of James "Doc" Payne, athlete, trainer, boxer, and wrestler, was yesterday added to the already long list of those who have died by their own hands in the past ten days.

The suicide of Payne was the result of brooding over a divorce action now pending in the courts. It was the eighth suicide in Cleveland in ten days. Within two weeks four persons have been murdered, and several wounded in attempts to slay.

Representative Clevelanders disagree as to the cause of the crime-deluge but admit that it is probably due in part to suggestion, the news of one suicide leading to another, or the publication of one love affair climaxed with a tragedy causing others who are compromised to seek a similar solution to their troubles.

7. As additional evidence of the recognition that publicity given to criminal and immoral acts in detail has an anti-

social effect the following clippings and facts are presented. The first represents a protest from a Pennsylvania Chautauqua Circle.

DON'T WANT NEWS OF CRIME

To the Editor of the "North American":

Believing as we do that the enormous publication of crime and immorality which confronts the reader of the daily and Sunday paper has a vicious and demoralizing effect upon the public in general and especially upon the minds of the young, therefore, we, the undersigned members of the Buckingham Chautauqua Circle, do earnestly protest and remonstrate against such annals of crime and immorality being published in detail repeatedly, and in prominent pages of and heralded as important news items in your otherwise valuable paper.

HANNAH ANN BUCKMAN
CYNTHIA D. KIRK
MARY W. ATKINSON
ANNA C. ATKINSON

HELEN W. WOLLASTON
MERCIE S. SMITH
CARRIE F. VANSANT
ANNIE S. TRIGO
Buckingham, Pa.

The second is an individual protest from a Detroit man.

THINKS HOLDUP STORIES MAKE BANDITS

DETROIT, MICH., Dec. 20.—[Editor of *The Tribune*.]—Regarding your editorial on "Teaching How to Swindle," don't you believe these accounts or stories in magazines of clever swindling operations would have a tendency to make the "lamb" more cautious and suspicious, as well as to make the swindlers more adroit and resourceful? A recent story in the *Saturday Evening Post* with a bucket shop hero and heroine was more entertaining and vigorous than a great deal of the fiction we are served with. And any "lamb" had the fact gently inserted once more that a little knowledge of the market is a dangerous thing.

But do you remember the "Boy Bank Robber" exploited in the papers recently and the brood of "boy" bank robbers that immediately thereafter went forth to battle? I assure you that I enjoyed the details of the story mentioned more than the newspaper details of the fool boys who found a hero in the news columns.

J. G. HUNT

The attempted assassination of Mayor Gaynor in August, 1910, was the occasion for a great deal of comment as to the cause of the perpetrator's attempt. Mayor Gaynor himself attributed the assault to the inflammatory articles regarding him in the newspapers, on account of which he states that he re-

and keep secret judicial proceedings involving indecent or immoral details has existed and generally has been recognized. Such power would still exist if rules 72 and 76 of those rules and section 4 of the present judiciary law were repealed or never had been enacted.

"Former section 5 of the Code of Civil Procedure, now section 4 of the judiciary law, purports to enumerate the cases in which a court may conduct a trial secretly—that is, by excluding strangers to the action."

Judge Mills told of the procedure in the Astor Case and showed how the law had been complied with in every way. He then discussed the question of publicity in such cases from the standpoint of general welfare. He gave the reasons for publicity frequently advanced and then outlined the wisdom of secrecy as follows:

"With my opinion strongly reinforced by recent personal experience, I may say that doubtless a judge for his own sake much would prefer to have all such proceedings entirely public.

"Had this been so in this case I am confident no fair-minded person would question at all that the decree made was fully warranted by the evidence and necessarily would have been granted, whoever the parties to the action might have been. This, after all, would seem to be the main matter—at least it so appears to me.

"Upon the other hand, in favor of secrecy, the main argument doubtless is that publicity given indecent or suggestively immoral details of such actions tends to promote general immorality. No doubt this has been the view which long has prevailed and which led to the maintenance of the existing practice. It seems altogether reasonable to suppose that it represents the exact truth.

"Another consideration in favor of secrecy is that thereby much bitter humiliation may be spared to innocent parties—e.g., the wife, children, and other relatives. Manifestly this also states the truth. For instance, this view is well illustrated by a recent divorce case in England, in which a gifted and distinguished English writer with many American admirers obtained a divorce from his wife.

"It well may be questioned whether or not any substantial public advantage accrued from such publication. It is not at all improbable that the brazen declarations of the false wife in that case, so widely published, may incite others to similar conduct.

"Also, in favor of secrecy in this state may be cited the fact that here the mere granting of a decree of absolute divorce necessarily imports that the infidelity of the defendant and the freedom of the plaintiff from collusion and condonation all have been proved. Such facts must be all that are essential for the purpose of making statistics or for any useful study of the legal or social questions involved in the divorce."

At the time of the trial of the Haines murder case in New York, in December, 1908, there was an attempt on the part of

editors in New York City to combine to keep the worst details of the case out of the newspapers. This action on the part of the editors was a recognition of the anti-social effect of the publication of certain sorts of details, and of the fact that the newspaper may be a means of suggesting crime to the public. So far as the writer knows, there was in this case no protest on the part of the public that they were not being given what they wanted.

A striking example of journalistic self-righteousness by a large daily which delights to pose as the friend and leader of the people appears in the following brief but pointed editorial:

GIPSY'S PARADE IN THE LEVEE

Thousands of youngsters of both sexes—of the impressionable age—went to the levee Monday night for the first time in their lives.

An orgy unexampled in history in the hecatombs of vice followed.

One convert was made.

Was it worth while?

Despite this strong protest, this same paper published very detailed accounts of the parade, describing to tens of thousands as well as it could what Gipsy Smith's thousands saw—perhaps on the theory that those “youngsters of both sexes—of impressionable age” who could not or would not enter the parade and see the things first hand should have as good a sight of them at second hand as possible. The criticism here made of Gipsy Smith, however justly made, must also be applied to the newspaper, and in much greater detail.

The yellow journals, as well as journals which have not definitely acquired that title, not only report anti-social matters in great detail, but, according to the following clippings, *manufacture* whole situations for journalistic use, and with apparent immunity. The following accounts are taken from two Denver papers, where the incident occurred:

MANUFACTURING SENSATIONS

When thieves fall out honest men come by their own, is an old adage.

The yellow journals of Denver have fallen foul of each other over their impositions upon the public in the matter of fakes, manufactured sensations, and instigation of crimes. It is possible that as a result their readers and the general public may be the recipients of unwelcome tidings regard-

ing the processes of putting out thrillers every day, twice and three times a day sometimes. The plain truth may be divulged and then it will be found that a yellow journal is manufactured much the same as is one of the sets of pictures in the cheap theaters—for the consumption of the gullible. Those battles, hair-breadth escapes thrown upon the scenes, are “manufactured” for the one purpose of making pictures with which to “raise the hair.”

Champa Street has been firing sensation after sensation at its contemporaries on Welton Street. These alleged crimes have been coming so exclusively from one source that the “great criminal attorney” has grown suspicious and threatens to turn on the light and give the snap away. It is alleged that the paper with a “heart and a soul” and a spare room for Justice when she is short of room rent, has been manufacturing by wholesale blackmailing stories and kidnaping stories and publishing them as “scoops.” As for the accusing sheets they cannot enter court with clean hands. Every issue from that source is smeared with venom, falsehood, and exaggeration. But let the publishers of these rival sheets fight it out and inform the public and perhaps some day the public or the leaders of public opinion may rise and take a stand for decency.

What matters it to these vampire sheets that families and individuals may suffer torture and agony and be living in dread by reason of the attempts of rival yellows to cheat each other and impose on the public? Records must be maintained even if crimes have to be manufactured. The daily “dope” must be forthcoming.

A yellow journal with its red ink adornment as an appeal to the brute instinct, has to increase the dose to maintain its hold. Its readers become tainted like the “dope” patient and demand their “injections” once a day at least and, wherever possible, twice a day as in the “extry.”

Whether the blackmailing letters and the threats of burglary communicated to citizens of prominence are genuine or are the result of yellow journalism run riot, as police and other persons behind the scenes believe them to be, one thing is certain: Denver has much to answer for in the license afforded to such publications. They foster crime and give encouragement to the weak-minded to violate the law. Moreover, they bring grievous harm upon a community.

Perhaps some day organized society will move in the matter. “Government by yellow journalism” is the worst form of despotism.

SAFFRON JOURNAL DEMENTIA

Were the letters written to the McClurg family containing “Black Hand” demands sent for the purpose of blackmail or were they the work of individuals or interests on the outlook for newspaper “sensations”?

Was the attempt to frighten Thomas F. Walsh’s family by threats genuine or was the cryptic letter picked up on the street by a mysterious woman

also a scheme to get sensational newspaper matter? In short, were the two latest newspaper "sensations" manufactured? And were they the result of yellow journal dementia?

The *Denver Post* secured the "beats" and the police department would like to know how this journal kept so suspiciously close to the inside workings of the alleged plots.

Although the families mentioned in the plots were alarmed, naturally, on receipt of the communications threatening death and destruction, inquiries made by private detectives and the police department have given them assurance that the danger was not so great as they had been led to believe. Further developments may bring to light a different kind of conspiracy than was anticipated at the beginning.

Fierce competition between Champa Street and Welton Street is responsible for a great deal these days, circus wars and what not, and it is quite likely that when the curtain is drawn aside the manufacturing of "news" with which to beat a competitor will be given illustration.

In the two "plots" referred to a great many suspicious circumstances remain to be explained. If blackmail on the McClurg household and burglary on the Walsh home had been the main purposes, the criminals would have gone about the matter more cautiously. Burglars engaged in the conspiracy to rob a mansion of its wealth do not communicate by open letter to have the letter dropped at a convenient place so that the alarm may be raised. A "Black Hand" conspiracy to get a large sum of money through threats is not entrusted to a boy casually encountered on the street, this boy to be the bearer to the blackmailers of \$10,000 in currency.

There is too close a similarity in plot, or lack of plot, in the two cases that have received so much newspaper notoriety. There is a suspicion of their having been made to order.

Evidently there was too much "pull," as the police were unable to uncover the plot. The following editorial, from a conservative and self-respecting paper, contains pertinent remarks of some social value aside from the light it throws upon the newspaper situation:

BLACKMAIL EFFORT POST PLOT, SAY AUTHORITIES

Having practically ceased work upon the alleged blackmailing plot against the members of the James A. McClurg family, 906 Grant Street, police and detectives last night were unanimous in labeling the whole affair the work of a faker.

Although no arrests have been made, the authorities have come to the conclusion that the letters to Mrs. McClurg were written by employes of

the *Denver Post* for the purpose of manufacturing a sensation. That paper has been guilty of similar practices in the past.

Men who refused, when the detective probe first began, to consider for a moment this phase of the case, yesterday admitted that such was the true status of the peculiar affair.

"I wouldn't believe it at first," said a private detective last night, "but after I got into the case I had to admit that the activity of *Post* men was the only explanation for the letters. There were certain coincidences, dovetailing with the manner in which the story was handled by the *Post*, that immediately showed to the experienced detective operative what was behind it all.

"I am done with the case. I didn't believe that a newspaper worthy of the name would stoop so low in its hunger for sensationalism. The whole affair leaves a bad taste in one's mouth."

Despite the fact that the police have practically dropped the case, private detectives are continuing the hunt for the writer of the letters. Money is being expended to run down this man.

Friends of the McClurg family stand ready to use their influence in having the perpetrator of the hoax punished, regardless of what his "pull" may be.

The quotations which follow give evidence of other ways in which the newspapers of this country influence the perpetration of crime or weaken social control. A writer in the *Outlook* points out that the press has given the "Black Hand" a dangerous and unwarranted prestige, largely for the sake of dramatic effect.

While there is little organization among the Italian desperadoes in the United States, the title of Black Hand, conferred upon them by the newspapers, gives them an advantage never before possessed by scattered law-breakers, in that they are able to make their cruel demands upon ignorant victims in the name of what the latter believe to be a powerful society. . . . So thoroughly has a great association of criminals . . . been advertised, however, that the individual adventurer need only announce himself as an agent of the Black Hand to obtain the prestige of an organization whose membership is supposed to be tens of thousands.²¹

Another passage from a law journal is instructive:

It needs no argument to prove that the newspaper is an unqualified evil insofar as it affects the trials of criminals. Since the abolition of public executions, it has been the policy of the law to hide all sensational details

²¹ F. M. White, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

connected with the punishment of criminals. The object of most newspapers is just the reverse of this.²²

A passage by Charles Zueblin on the influence of the press on a phase of social control is also indicative of effects in similar and related fields.

The sensational reports spread by the daily press led to a reaction against vaccination which has resulted in deaths from smallpox all over the country.²³

Thus the results in this chapter are seen to represent a mass of both direct and indirect evidence of the suggestive influence of the newspaper on anti-social activity gathered from a wide range of territory and from many different sources. The evidence does not seek or claim to be coextensive with the actual extent of newspaper influence on anti-social activity, but it does establish its existence and indirectly suggests its extent.

²² C. B. Smith, "The Influence of Modern Journalism on Criminal Trials," *Green Bag*, XVII, 223.

²³ *American Municipal Progress* (Macmillan, 1902), 115.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

I. *Summary and conclusions.*—The object of the present study has been to show a causal connection between the newspaper and crime and other anti-social activity. In how far and in what manner this has been done a summary of the previous chapters will show.

Chapter iii explains the psychological process by which newspaper influences operate on activity, and lays the theoretical basis for the consideration of cases of newspaper suggestion and of forms of newspaper stimuli. The conclusion reached in this connection is that the newspaper can enter into activity in all of the ways in which it can influence the nervous set, i.e., it may be the source of initial images, ideas, or impulses that are now either the fringe or the focus of a present act, or it may be a present stimulus calling out images, ideas, or impulses that are already present.

In chapter iv a method was worked out on the basis of these principles for analyzing the amount and kinds of anti-social matter in newspapers; a definition of anti-social matter was determined upon different from the definitions hitherto employed, and founded on an objective and socially constructive basis, that is, a basis that is able to take care of all anti-social relations between the newspaper and activity and based upon a body of psychological and psychiatric facts—a definition, consequently, both more and less inclusive, and more functional, than the juridical definition.

In chapter v the results obtained by an analysis of newspapers on the basis of the foregoing definition were given in several tables representing a comparative and intensive study of approximately 57 papers for three different dates, of the general news and literary and pictorial sections of the *Chicago E*——— and *Chicago D*——— for one month, of the general news sections of three New York papers, the *New York C*———, the *New*

York B——, and the *New York A*——, and of the *Denver G*—— for seven corresponding dates, a comparison of four sections of all the papers studied, a comparison of the six papers above mentioned by name for common dates as to relative apportionment of matter and percentages of anti-social matter in relation to the total matter in each paper, and finally a diagrammatic representation of the relation between certain percentages of crime in the six papers mentioned by name and the circulation of those papers.

Chapter vi was concerned with an analysis of typical cases of American newspaper suggestion, as well as with a mass of evidence from foreign newspapers, from analogous sources of anti-social suggestion, such as the yellow novel, moving pictures, etc., and also with the presentation of the opinions of experts in penal, judicial, and journalistic matters tending to confirm the general thesis. Also an incidental account of movements initiated and practical steps taken on the basis of a belief in, or of positive proof of, the existence of this anti-social suggestion was given.

The results of the analysis of the anti-social matter in the six papers mentioned specifically above show the highest percentage of the kind of news which is an obvious medium of suggestion considered on the basis of a comparison of news alone, to be 20.02 and the lowest, 5.91; while an estimate based upon all mention of anti-social news makes the highest percentage 42.47 and the lowest, 18.90. The amount of news alone which should be withdrawn from the newspaper columns is more nearly represented by the figures shown in column 3 of the tables, 23.02 being the highest percentage there, and the lowest, 7.94. This, however, is exclusive of forms of anti-social matter other than that included in the news proper. The percentage of all kinds of anti-social matter out of the entire paper which should be removed, a figure found by relating the sum of inches in column 3 in all the papers to the total space exclusive of advertisements, is 8.11.

One of the most significant results of this analysis comes out in the figures relating to the comparative percentages of

anti-social matter in the editorial and news columns. Given a certain amount of anti-social matter in the news columns, the question arises whether the editorial columns are an adequate offset to this, that is, whether this anti-social news is so treated in editorials as to interpret it for those for whom it would be suggestive in an anti-social direction—provided, of course, that the editorial section can so offset the effect of the news columns. In the paper whose news columns contain the highest average percentage of anti-social news, i.e., 20.02 per cent, the editorial columns contain only 6.58 per cent of anti-social matter. But all of this matter is treated from an anti-social rather than from a socially constructive standpoint. Here, then, the reader gets no counter-evaluative stimuli to the news columns. The paper whose news columns contained the lowest average percentage of anti-social news—5.91—devoted 10.37 per cent of its editorial space to a discussion of anti-social facts from a constructively social viewpoint, and 4.07 per cent to a discussion of anti-social facts from an anti-social viewpoint. Here, also, the editorial columns are by no means an adequate offset for the anti-social effect of the news columns—granting that the editorials are as often read as are the news items, an assumption which is not borne out by fact.

It appears from chapter vi that the newspaper leads to anti-social activity in a number of ways. These may be summed up by saying that it influences people directly, both unconsciously and consciously, to commit anti-social acts. It also has a more indirect anti-social influence on public opinion during criminal trials through its accounts of these trials and through its partisan selection of evidence; and, finally, it aids in building up anti-social standards, and thus in preparing the way for anti-social acts.

Finally, the results from the analyses of the papers are based upon a comparatively extensive number of issues of papers (203), comprising 57 different American newspapers. The percentages, therefore, constitute representative figures, both as to number and kind of papers and total number of issues studied.

The evidence collected for chapter vi unquestionably establishes

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the *existence* of suggestion to anti-social activity, and indirectly suggests its *extent*. Cases of direct newspaper suggestion to crime and other anti-social activity, cases of exactly analogous suggestion through the similar medium of literature, also similar cases of suggestion through moving-picture shows, theater representations, etc., along with a large body of facts testifying to a wide experience and conviction on the part of experts and others that the suggestion exists, were presented in support of the argument.

II. Newspapers and other interests are accustomed to object to evidence of the kind here presented, that the persons who are alleged to have been so influenced would have committed the anti-social acts any way. This objection, however, is either based upon the false assumption that criminals and other social offenders are born such, or represents a failure to raise the question of what makes the offender, if he is not born such. Modern and scientific criminology does not recognize the existence of the born criminal or offender. If criminals are made, and not born such, they have to acquire their anti-social habits somewhere. The evidence here given has shown beyond question that the newspaper is one of the means by which people are set to acquiring anti-social habits and to committing anti-social acts.

Moreover, the newspaper itself admits an analogous suggestive influence in other fields. The psychological principle, as well as the evidence of actual fact, is the same in both cases.

III. *Recommendations for changes in the newspaper.*—
(I) The newspaper is a tremendous influence in the community. Its stimuli reach an enormous number of persons and reach them frequently and insistently. It should, therefore, be an educative and dependable medium. Its possible educative value has scarcely been realized. Suggestive anti-social matter should be excluded from it. This does not mean that all mention of anti-social matters should be excluded. It is desirable that the public should be informed on all matters which they can assist in improving. But the news which gives them the information should not be couched in terms or presented in forms and details which make it criminally suggestive or factually misleading. It is possible to deal with anti-social matters in such a manner as

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to minimize the possibility of suggestion to anti-social activity by confining the treatment to bare statements of fact, by selecting such facts only as are necessary to constructive action in the matter.¹ It is likewise possible to use all of the media which contribute so largely to anti-social results in gaining increased social results. Many of these methods constitute a technique ready made for educative purposes. Large type, vivid and picturesque writing, illustrations, colored type, diagrams, etc., are just as easily the media of social as of anti-social suggestion and when the content conveyed by them is of a social character they are indispensable for readers who are fatigued, or who read in poor light.

(2) There are, however, strong forces working against such changes as have been suggested, at the present time. Commercial influences operating upon the policy of newspapers serve to suppress facts important to the public. Any accident, theft, crime, which is likely to react unfavorably on the buying public is not coupled with the name of the firm with whom it occurs. For example, if an accident occurs in a State Street department store in Chicago, whether due to fault of the company or to some other cause, the newspapers do not mention specifically where it occurred, because such mention hurts the store's trade.

The newspaper is also accustomed to play up or distort facts when such a course pays. An example of this is to be found in the fact that while the opera *Salome* was under fire in Chicago and not yet suspended, some of the Chicago papers and likewise Cleveland papers (for which city the opera was booked after Chicago) took the side of the opera and minimized its suggestiveness.

The fact that the newspapers work for a margin of sales also strongly influences their policy in printing anti-social matter. There is a circulation which can be pretty definitely counted upon, i.e., a certain number of people buy papers constantly for the news regardless of the content. Beyond this, featuring, doctoring, and faking draw a wide circle of buyers who would not otherwise be attracted. For example, the sporting sec-

¹ See Clifford G. Roe's *Panders and Their White Slaves* (Revell, 1910).

tion is usually printed on colored paper and placed on the outside of the evening paper for the purpose of attracting this margin of sales among a class who are not generally interested in the political and social news of the day. Likewise there are girls who would not buy a conservatively gotten-up paper, i.e., one dealing with the essential and standard facts of life presented in an uncolored and dependable manner, who will buy a copy which bears the caption in large red type, *Turns Revolver upon Woman, Shoots Self*.

In short, advertising columns and pecuniary reward muzzle the news columns and distort and color the facts which they contain, thus destroying their accuracy and utility and leading to anti-social presentations. When any argument is made for the control of newspaper presentations, however, it is met by the time-honored appeal to freedom of discussion. But, as an answer to this appeal, it should be remembered (1) that as a matter of fact the public does not get freedom of discussion in the newspaper. It gets discussion which is strictly censored in the ways mentioned above, in large part by special interests and the desire for gains at the cost of the public; and (2) that as a principle, freedom of discussion is useful and desirable only when it secures advantageous social results. Freedom of discussion apart from its results is not in itself a worthy end.

(3) Endowed and public-owned newspapers have been proposed as remedies for the present evils springing from a system of private-owned newspapers. While public-owned newspapers might secure the kind of news which is desirable—at least in some respects—they are such a far-off contingency that it is more practical to consider proposals which can be put into operation more quickly. The endowed newspaper, as an adequate solution of the problem, is at present as impracticable as the public-owned newspaper. It would moreover be but a partial relief, so long as private-owned newspapers were in the field.

(4) Therefore it is important to consider methods possible at present.

(a) We need new and adequately enforced laws defining strictly the power of newspapers to deal with news, laws analo-